

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY Illustrated REVIEW OF REVIEWS

October 1900

Edited by ALBERT SHAW

What Mr. Bryan Would Do, if Elected:—

The Practical Bryan Policy for the Philippines.

By Edward M. Shepard.

Mr. Bryan and the Trusts: An Anti-Trust View.

By the Hon. Frank S. Monnett. (Formerly Attorney-General of Ohio.)

Trusts, in Case of Bryan's Election.

By Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin. (Of the University of Chicago.)

Bryan's Financial Policy: A Republican View.

By the Hon. George E. Roberts. (Director of the Mint.)

Bryan's Financial Policy: A Democratic View.

By Charles B. Spahr.

Some Other Features of the Number:—

New Light on the Problems of Trusts.

By Charles R. Flint.

The Democratic Candidate for Vice-President.

A Sketch of Mr. Stevenson, by the Hon. James S. Ewing.

The Late Lord Chief Justice Russell.

A Character Sketch of the Great English Lawyer, by William T. Stead.

Jamaica's Lesson in Colonial Government.

By Julius Moritzen.

The Rise of Golf in America.

By Price Collier.

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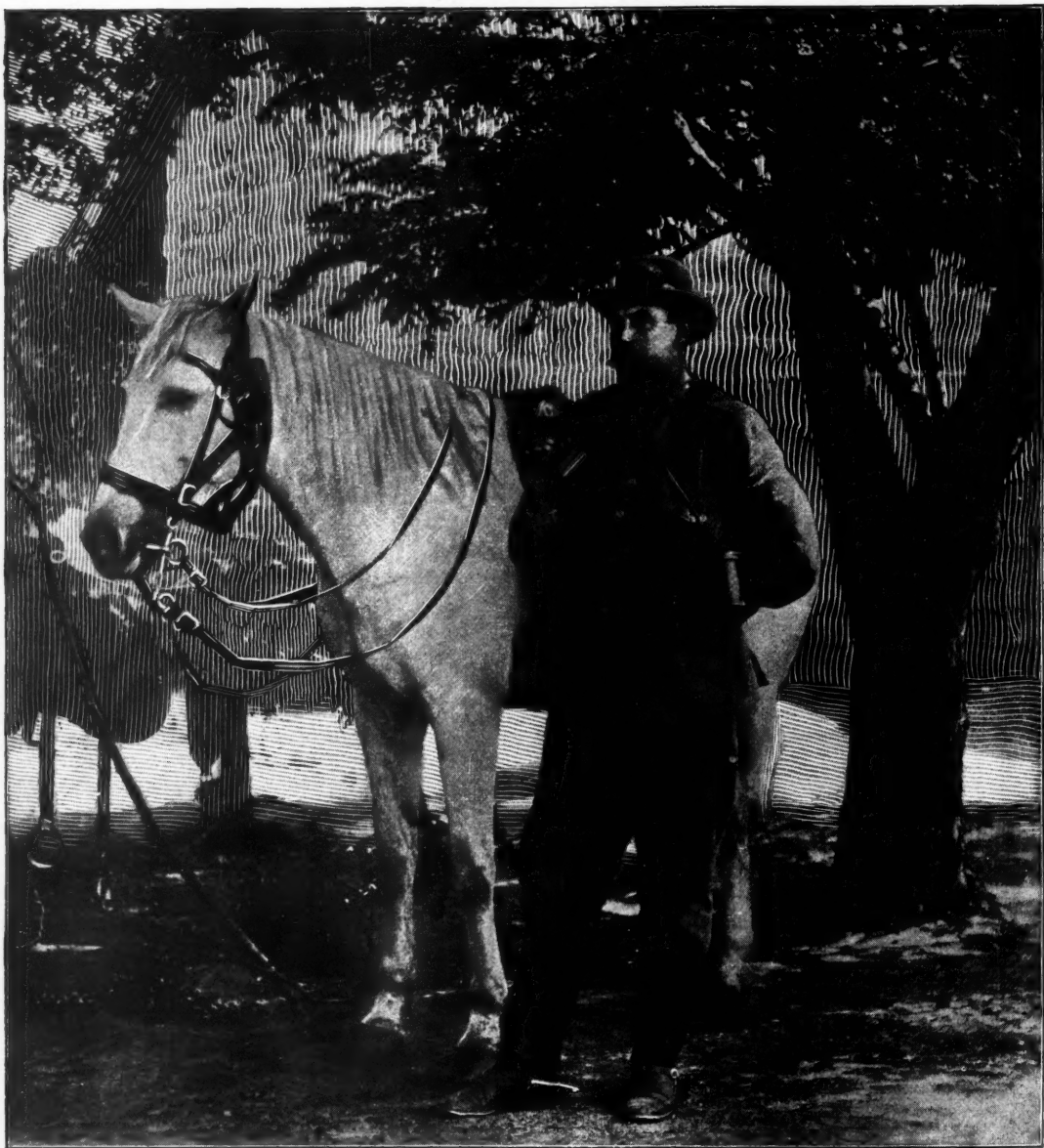
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GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA,

Whose retirement last month as commandant-general of the Boer forces marked the end of the South-African struggle as a regular war, and the beginning of a guerrilla campaign led by General Viljoen.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XXII.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1900.

No. 4.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*Mr. McKinley's
Review of the
Situation.*

Besides the elaborate and carefully prepared speeches that the Presidential candidates make upon the occasion of their formal notification, it has been the custom for them at a subsequent date to issue a still more elaborate statement in the form of a public letter, expounding their respective party platforms and reviewing the questions at issue in the campaign. Mr. McKinley's letter was dated September 8, and published in the newspapers of Monday, the 10th. It was immediately accepted by all Republican authorities as the most telling document that had thus far appeared since the holding of the great conventions. It was prepared in such a way as to be especially available for use as campaign "literature;" and the Republican

National Committee will, doubtless, before the middle of October, have distributed millions of copies of it. Mr. McKinley begins by calling detailed attention to the demands of the three parties that are supporting Mr. Bryan for the immediate opening of the mints to the free coinage of silver. He pledges the Republican party to the unequivocal maintenance of the gold standard. He sets forth, in a statistical way, what he regards as a flattering condition of the national treasury and the public finances, and dwells upon the marvelous expansion of our foreign trade and the unprecedented general prosperity of the country. He notes the fact that we are now redeeming, with a bond bearing 2 per cent. interest, the bonds that in Mr. Cleveland's administration were bearing as high as 5 per cent. interest. Whereas Congress authorized a war loan of \$400,000,000 at the beginning of the war with Spain, it proved necessary to issue only \$200,000,000. Mr. McKinley thinks that it will be feasible for Congress, at its next session, to reduce taxation very materially.



IF BRYAN WERE PRESIDENT THIS HAPPY STATE OF AFFAIRS COULD NOT EXIST.—From the *Enquirer* (Philadelphia).

*Certain
Business
Questions.*

He discusses the question of our merchant marine, declaring that 91 per cent. of our exports and imports are now carried in foreign ships; and he asserts that we ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the outside world, and that we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors. In connection with this subject of transportation by water, he introduces the topic of an interoceanic canal; and, as to the political aspect of it, he says that "our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this Government; and it is believed that the next session of Congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work." As respects trusts, President McKinley says that "honest cooperation of capital is necessary to meet new business condi-

tions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade; but conspiracies and combinations, intended to restrict business, create monopolies, and control prices, should be effectively restrained." He points to publicity as a helpful influence, and suggests uniformity of legislation in the several States. "Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer," he considers "obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare;" calls them "dangerous conspiracies," and says they "ought to be subject to prohibitory or penal legislation." Mr. McKinley calls attention to the importance to the working-man of that general condition of prosperity which gives abundant employment and makes possible good wages; and he intimates his belief in short hours and payment in high-standard money. As to civil-service reform, he declares that the future of the merit system is safe in the hands of the Republican party. He says that this system, so



PASTING IT IN HIS HAT.

The American working-man agrees with Mr. McKinley.

From the St. Paul Pioneer-Press.

far as practicable, is made the basis for appointments in our new territory. He further calls attention to those modifications of the civil-service rules that were made in May, 1899, and to which much exception was taken at the time, and declares that the changes have been vindicated by experience.

Very much the greater part of Mr. McKinley's letter is devoted to a discussion of what has been attempted

and accomplished in the islands which have come into close relations with us in consequence of the war with Spain. That which relates to Cuba is so compact a statement that we may properly quote it all. It is as follows:

We have been in possession of Cuba since the 1st of January, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquillity. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked, and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education, and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled, and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people. Our military establishment has been reduced from 43,000 soldiers to less than 6,000. An election has been ordered to be held on the 15th of September, under a fair election law already tried in the municipal elections, to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention by the same order is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantees to the people of Cuba.

On
Porto Rico. He explains that our military force in Porto Rico has been reduced from 11,000 to 1,500, and that native

Porto Ricans constitute, for the most part, the local constabulary. He reports that there is now under the new civil government a gratifying revival of Porto Rican business. He says that a much larger measure of self-government has already been given to the Porto Ricans than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. He explains very clearly the arrangement under which Congress has, at the outset, removed 85 per cent. of the tariff duties between Porto Rico and the United States, and has provided that the remaining 15 per cent. must disappear not later than a year from next March, and as much earlier as the local finances of Porto Rico will permit. On November 5 the Porto Ricans will elect a delegate to Congress and 35 members of the House of Delegates, the lower branch of their legislature. The recent census shows that about three-fourths of the population belong to the white race.

On the
Philippine
Question.

As to the Philippine question, Mr. McKinley declares that "the purposes of the executive are best revealed and can best be judged by what he has done and is doing." He proceeds, thereupon, to give a chronological résumé of the whole

subject, in order that it may be seen "that the power of the Government has been used for the liberty, the peace, and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples, and that force has been employed only against force which stood in the way of the realization of these ends." The President, in the course of his remarkable summary and defense of his Philippine policy, makes the following statements, which seem to us to have the highest weight and pertinence :

We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue is made. It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am aiming to do under my Constitutional authority, and will continue to do until Congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

Are our opponents against the treaty? If so, they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the Senate but for their assistance. The Senate which ratified the treaty, and the Congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation, comprised Senators and Representatives of the people of all parties.

Would our opponents surrender to the insurgents, abandon our sovereignty or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose, then it should be promptly disclaimed, for only evil can result from the hopes raised by our opponents in the minds of the Filipinos—that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago, the complete independence of the Tagalog people recognized, and the powers of government over all the other people of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

The effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolonged the rebellion, and increases the necessity for the continuance of a large army. It is now delaying full peace in the archipelago, and the establishment of civil governments, and has influenced many of the insurgents against accepting the liberal terms of amnesty offered by General MacArthur, under my direction. But for these false hopes a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippines, and the realization of a stable government would be already at hand.

Our readers will scarcely need to be reminded that the views the President sets forth have from the beginning had the support of this magazine—not on any ground of partisan preference whatsoever, but because they have seemed to us essentially sound and patriotic. There was nothing partisan about the war with Spain. The whole American people, with only individual exceptions here and



"PERPETUITY!"

"Every one is called upon at this time to work to perpetuate this administration."—From the *Verdict* (New York).

there, demanded that our Government should put an end to Cuba's intolerable situation. Nor was there anything partisan about the terms of the treaty of peace that was subsequently entered into. Everything that our Government has done, since that treaty of peace was signed, in respect to the Philippine Islands has seemed to us to have been done in good faith, on principles of which we have no reason to be ashamed, and with fair prospects of highly creditable results in the end. What is further than all this, we beg to say, with the most unqualified emphasis, that we have not the shadow of doubt that if Mr. Bryan had been elected President of the United States in 1896, instead of Mr. McKinley, he would, in his capacity as chief executive and as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, have carried on a war with Spain for the relief of Cuba, and that this war would have resulted in the annexation of all the territory that we acquired by virtue of the peace treaty at Paris. Historically speaking, the Democratic rather than the Republican party has throughout our history instinctively favored expansion and annexation; and at this moment the Democratic South, if circumstances permitted the expression of its genuine sentiment, would probably be shown to have far less misgiving about the advisability of our exercising sovereignty in the Philippines, as well as in other quarters, than the Republican North.

*Mr. Shepard's
Views and
Criticisms.*

The whole subject is being constantly confused by the failure to discriminate between self-government of the practical sort—municipal, provincial, territorial—and the exercise of sovereignty in the sense of international law. The Philippine Islands have never at any time been an independent sovereign nation; and the idea of assuming such a position had never, previous to the American conquest of Manila, been seriously contemplated by the population of the archipelago as a deliberate aspiration. Such insurrections as had been waged against the Spanish rule were for the sake of securing certain administrative reforms. The Hon. Edward M. Shepard, a very distinguished Democrat of New York, who did not support Mr. Bryan four years ago, but who is now supporting him on the Philippine issue, contributes, at our request, an article on that subject to the present number of the REVIEW. Mr. Shepard was asked especially to answer the question what, in his judgment, Mr. Bryan could actually accomplish, in case of his election, towards a reversal of the policy of which Mr. Shepard disapproves. Our readers will find the article well worth their careful reading. It has always been our plan to welcome open discussion in our pages; and the fact that Mr. Shepard's views are diametrically opposite to those expressed by us editorially, at considerable length last month, merely lends another reason why we should give them a prominent place. Let it be added that we value the country far more highly than we do its parties and their antagonisms. When serious questions arise involving in a large way the permanent mission and history of this nation, we prefer to believe that men who hold the reins of power at Washington, regardless of

party, will do the very best they possibly can for the welfare and honor of their country; and this we believe that Mr. McKinley has done. But we believe no less firmly that if Mr. Bryan had been elected he, too, would have risen above party prejudices and fetters, and would in the emergencies of war-making and peace-making have done those things which we should have found it possible and reasonable to support. There are matters in which we are absolutely compelled to act through our accredited representatives. In the matter of our recent participation in Chinese affairs, for example, it has been only sensible to show confidence in the policy pursued by the President.

*Mr. Bryan's
Letter.*

The letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination issued by Mr. Bryan appeared on September 18. He adopted a plan different from that of Mr. McKinley, and made this letter, in effect, a supplement to his famous notification speech at Indianapolis, reviewed by us last month. That speech was devoted to the one subject of imperialism. This letter deals with the other matters presented in the Democratic platform. Mr. Bryan prefaces the document with a repetition of his avowal of 1896 that if elected, he would not be a candidate for a second term. He proceeds to discuss the question of trusts as of especial prominence. He charges the Republican party with the lack of either desire or ability to deal with the question effectively. The following quotation well expresses the spirit of Mr. Bryan's discussion of the subject of corporate monopolies:

Our platform, after suggesting certain specific remedies, pledges the party to an unceasing warfare against private monopoly in Nation, State, and city. I heartily approve of this promise; if elected, it shall be my earnest and constant endeavor to fulfill the promise in letter and spirit. I shall select an attorney-general who will, without fear or favor, enforce existing laws; I shall recommend such additional legislation as may be necessary to dissolve every private monopoly which does business outside of the State of its origin; and if, contrary to my belief and hope, a Constitutional amendment is found to be necessary, I shall recommend such an amendment as will, without impairing any of the existing rights of the States, empower Congress to protect the people of all the States from injury at the hands of individuals or corporations engaged in interstate commerce.



BRYAN and MCKINLEY (in unison): "Beware of that man!"
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).

Mr. Bryan
on Silver.

The next question taken up by Mr. Bryan is that of coinage and currency, and in our opinion he does not deal with that subject with the frankness of four years ago. Upon a theme of such commanding importance, the country has a right to ask Mr. Bryan what he proposes to do. He studiously avoids this practical aspect of the sub-



MR. BRYAN'S SEVERE CASE OF STAGE FRIGHT.

The Eastern Gold Democrat and the Western Free Silverite join in asking Mr. Bryan: "If elected, would you, Mr. Bryan, pay U. S. coin obligations with silver?"

From the Pioneer-Press (St. Paul).

ject, merely remarking that "whether the Senate, now hostile to bimetallism, can be changed during this campaign or the campaign of 1902 can only be determined after the votes are counted." If this remark of Mr. Bryan's has any force or meaning at all, it can only be intended to convey the implication that the money question is solely one for Congress, and that there is nothing that a free-silver President and a free-silver Secretary of the Treasury can do if the Senate should be, to use his phrase, "hostile to bimetallism." The present Secretary of the Treasury has made himself responsible for very specific declarations to the effect that Mr. Bryan, if elected President, could do a great deal to change the present monetary policy of the country without the cooperation of the Senate. The greater part of the remaining paragraphs of Mr. Bryan's letter are brief running comments

of approval upon what may be called the miscellaneous planks of the Kansas City platform—such as the election of Senators by the people, the establishment of a Department of Labor with a Cabinet officer at its head, the construction of the Nicaragua Canal under the ownership and control of the United States Government, the admission of the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma as States, economy in public expenditures, and the income tax—a plank in favor of which, Mr. Bryan tells us, had been agreed upon by the Committee on Resolutions at Kansas City, but was omitted from the platform by inadvertence.

Accepting the
Populist
Nomination.

Mr. Bryan had previously made a speech at Topeka, Kan., in response to the ceremony of notification by the Populist party. The formal speech notifying him was made by the Hon. T. M. Patterson, of Denver. In his reply, Mr. Bryan expressed warm recognition of the educational work done by the Populists, and by the farmers' alliances and labor organizations, which he regarded as associated with the Populist party. Mr. Bryan's speech was a skillful one, but cautious and reserved in a marked degree, as compared with the speeches that he made four years ago. Nothing is more striking in this campaign than Mr. Bryan's growth in conservatism, as evidenced by his complete silence on such questions as, for instance, the Populist demand for government ownership of telegraph lines and railways. The Eastern opinion that Mr. Bryan has the inclinations of a socialistic radical is a wholly mistaken one.

The Vice-
Presidential
Candidate.

Mr. Stevenson, whose formal letter on the issues had not appeared as these comments were written, was duly accepted by the Populist Executive Committee in session at Chicago on August 27 as the candidate of their party for Vice-President, in place of Mr. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, whom they had nominated at Sioux City on June 9. The decision of the Populists to have neither a Presidential nor a Vice-Presidential candidate of their own in the field is regarded, by a considerable minority of their party, as a serious mistake of practical judgment. Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, well known as chairman of the Populist National Committee, was radically opposed to the substitution of Mr. Stevenson, not on personal grounds, but on those of party tactics. The story of Mr. Stevenson's career is set forth in this number of the REVIEW in a sketch both interesting and authoritative, by his law partner and lifelong friend, Judge James S. Ewing.

The Non-fusion Populists.

Our readers should not be allowed by us to forget that a portion of the Populists have never favored the policy of fusion with the Democrats, and are not supporting the candidacy of Mr. Bryan, but are organized for the advocacy of a platform and ticket of their own, their candidates being two widely known gentlemen—namely, the Hon. Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, and the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota. The chairman of the National Committee of these "Middle-of-the-Road" Populists is the Hon. J. A. Parker; and he is quoted as having recently said, on behalf of himself and his political associates, that they did not care whether Bryan or McKinley was elected. Mr. Parker declared that imperialism in the Philippines was by far less objectionable than imperialism at home, by which he explained that he referred to "the disfranchisement of citizens at the South, both by law and by force." Mr. Wharton Barker's views on public questions are currently set forth with very great ability in his weekly paper, *The American*, of Philadelphia.

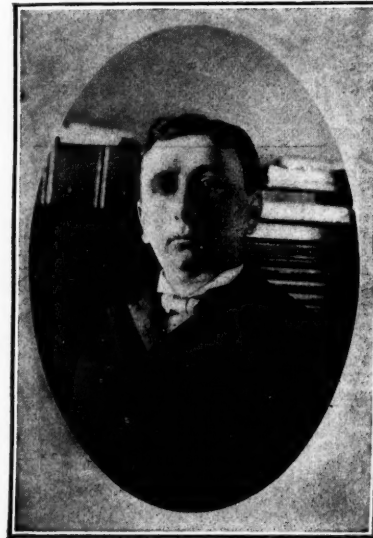
Campaign Activities.

The headquarters of the Democratic campaign are at Chicago. Mr. Bryan himself, who has from time to time gone to Chicago, is giving close attention, not merely to his own personal speaking canvass, but also to the management of the campaign business. Mr. Bryan is not attempting this year such prodigies of stump-speaking as he accomplished four years ago. That would seem scarcely possible for any man twice in a lifetime. He is, however, making a great many speeches in a number of States. During a part of August he was in Kansas, and later he made a series of speeches in West Virginia and Ohio. Then he went farther west again, where he made notable speeches in Missouri and Kansas. On September 20 he went to his home at Lincoln, Neb., to rest. In the closing days of September it was his plan to speak in the Dakotas, and on October 1 he was slated for Duluth and St. Paul, Minn. Next he was to spend several days in Wisconsin and Indiana. Then comes his Eastern tour, which it was expected would include New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and New York. He was announced to speak in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on October 16. The last week of the campaign he was to spend, as usual, in his own State, where he was to be reinforced by several others, notably Senator Wellington, of Maryland, whose withdrawal from the Republican party—while still holding a seat in the United States Senate to which the Republicans of Maryland had elected him—has been one of the nota-

ble personal incidents of a campaign remarkable for the change of attitude of a large number of widely known public men.

Governor Roosevelt in the Field.

Governor Roosevelt, who has been the most active campaigner on the Republican side, met Mr. Bryan at Chicago on Labor day, where both men by previous arrangement made non-political addresses



SENATOR WELLINGTON, OF MARYLAND.

(Who is supporting Mr. Bryan.)

appropriate to the day. Governor Roosevelt's letter as Vice-Presidential candidate appeared in the newspapers on Monday, September 17. The letter is a document of great force. He puts the question of money and the continuance of stable business conditions as of paramount importance; and, in our opinion, he is justified in doing this. It is in accord with the views expressed at some length in these pages two months ago. Referring to the question of the relative importance of the free-silver issue as raised by the Democrats, Governor Roosevelt says, with what seems to us unanswerable logic:

No issue can be paramount to the issue they thus make, for the paramountcy of such an issue is to be determined, not by the dictum of any man or body of men, but by the fact that it vitally affects the well-being of every home in the land. The financial question is always of such far-reaching and tremendous importance to the national welfare that it can never be raised in good faith unless this tremendous importance is not merely conceded, but insisted on. Men who are not willing to make such an issue paramount have no possible justification for raising it at all, for under such cir-

cumstances their act cannot under any conceivable circumstances do aught but grave harm.

The paragraph devoted to the trust question is in line with the notable utterance of Governor Roosevelt in his recent message to the New York Legislature. The governor proceeds to give an interesting *résumé* of our earlier achievements in the exercise of an expansion policy. His support of President McKinley's position in the Philippines bears the emphasis of strong conviction. As an incessant campaigner he bids fair to make a record surpassed only by that of Mr. Bryan four years ago. His speaking last month drew great crowds in various parts of the West, and in the Dakotas and Montana he aroused the utmost enthusiasm.

Some
Bryan
Supporters.

As we have remarked, the greater part of the men conspicuous for their attacks upon the Philippine policy of the Government have come out for Mr. Bryan. They have not done this, however, in a way particularly complimentary to that gentleman; and it is to be doubted whether they will help him much by their support. They talk about a choice of evils, and support Mr. Bryan grudgingly, as the only way to beat Mr. McKinley. Mr. Schurz, for instance, whose support of Bryan



MR. SCHURZ' BRIGHT IDEA.

CARL SCHURZ: "The Republicans can fix him at the next session of Congress so he can do no harm; why not make him President?"—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

is very conspicuous, is at the same time notifying the Republicans that in case of Bryan's election they ought to avail themselves—before his inauguration, next March—of the opportunity they will have in the short term of the present Congress next winter to enact fresh laws of one kind or another to protect the country against things that Mr. Bryan might otherwise do when in office. Mr. Richard Olney condemns utterly the Philippine policy, and therefore supports Mr. Bryan, although it does not appear that this ex-secretary of state supposes for a moment that we can adopt Mr. Bryan's programme and withdraw from any part of the territory we have annexed. His views, indeed, are not in the least like those of Mr. Bryan, or those of Mr. Shepard, which we publish this month, in respect to their doctrine that the Filipinos are qualified for full self-government and ought to be set up as an independent republic. On the contrary, his grievance against the administration is that "we have saddled ourselves with the gravest responsibilities for some eight or ten millions of the savage or, at best, half-civilized brown people of the tropics." On his own statement, Mr. Olney's position is the most paradoxical of that of any of the public men who have thus far confided to the public their reasons for supporting one or the other of the Presidential candidates. The fact is that Mr. Olney is an expansionist whose favorite doctrine is that of the paramountcy of the United States in the Western Hemisphere; and he does not like to see us diverting, in Asia or the islands of the far East, the energies that ought to be expended nearer home. This point of view he expresses in the fifth of the series of bad things that he thinks would be implied in the indorsement of the McKinley administration by the American people this year. It reads as follows:

It will mean that the American people approve the extraordinarily fatuous policy or impolicy, or no policy at all, by which the Philippine Archipelago, many thousands of miles from our shores, becomes an integral part of the United States; while Cuba, the cause and inspiration of the war, lying right at our door, the key to the Gulf of Mexico and absolutely essential to our defense against foreign attack, is declared alien territory, and entitled to all the rights of an independent sovereignty.

Senator
Beveridge
on Cuba.

As to Cuba, Senator Lodge, who answered Mr. Olney in a speech at Portland, Maine, on September 8, frankly agreed that it ought to be annexed to the United States for the good of all concerned; but he called attention to the circumstances under which this country promised to give Cuba independence, and held that we must live up to the promise. This position respecting Cuba is even

more strongly stated in the very brilliant speech of Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, in opening the Republican campaign at Chicago, September 25. Mr. Beveridge says that "a separate government over Cuba uncontrolled by the American republic never should have been promised." He declares that Cuba is a mere extension of our Atlantic coast-line, commanding the ocean entrances to the Mississippi and the Isthmian Canal, the possession of which has been the wish of every farseeing American statesman from Jefferson to Blaine. Mr. Beveridge paints a vivid picture of the progress that Cuba is now making under American administration, and offers the following gloomy prediction :

When we stop this work and withdraw our restraint, revolution will succeed revolution, as in the Central and South American countries; Havana again fester with the yellow death; systematic education again degenerate into sporadic instances; and Cuba, which under our control would have been a source of profit, power, and glory to the republic and herself, will be a source of irritation and of loss, of danger and disease, to both. The United States needs Cuba for our protection; but Cuba needs the United States for Cuba's salvation.

He advances the further prediction "that within twenty-five years we shall again be forced to assume the government of Cuba, but only after our commerce has again been paralyzed by revolution;—after internal dissension has again spilled rivers of Cuban blood; after the yellow fever has again and again crossed over to our southern coast from its hotbed in Havana harbor, and after we have assumed hundreds of millions of dollars of Cuban debt to prevent this island from falling into the hands of a foreign power."

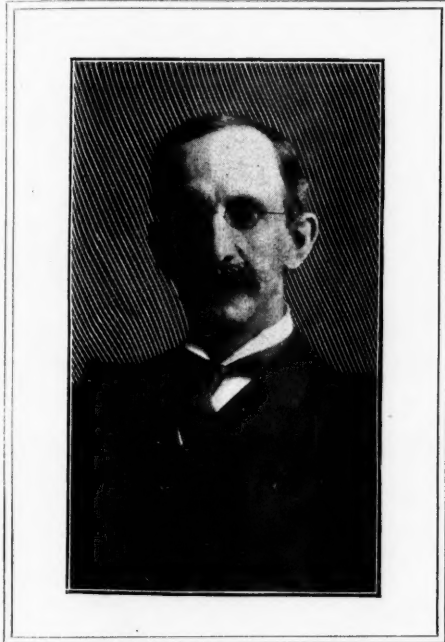
The Cuban Programme. These views expressed by Mr. Beveridge assume that Cuba is really to be given her independence, in the full-est and most unqualified sense. It is well known, however, that the United States Government, in ordering the election last month of a Cuban constitutional convention, entertained the lively hope that this body would see the propriety of arranging for extremely intimate relations between Cuba and the United States—relations which, while leaving ordinary affairs of internal government wholly to the Cubans, would place external affairs under the ægis of the United States. We must, in all sincerity, agree with Senator Beveridge that it would be very unfortunate for Cuba to have our American school administration withdrawn at this time; while it is our further conviction that we owe it to ourselves to retain a permanent supervision of Cuban sanitary affairs, with a view to protecting our Southern States against yellow fever and cholera. Cuba

needs five years more of the present régime under General Wood, after which it ought to have perhaps ten years of territorial government like that of Oklahoma or New Mexico; and then it ought to be admitted as a sovereign State into the Union. But Mr. McKinley is in no way responsible for the absurd and mischievous pledge made by Congress on the eve of our going to war, to the effect that we were not going to annex Cuba. It is as ridiculous to think that we are really doing a good thing for people who live in Cuba by ordering them to adopt a constitution and run an independent government as to think it an act of generosity to shove a handful of men, women, and children off to shift for themselves in a small open boat in mid-ocean, when they might just as well have been comfortable and safe on board a big steamer. Undoubtedly, there are many intelligent Cubans who think it best that the island should have its independence first, and should then seek annexation on its own free motion. Under all the circumstances, there is much to be said in favor of this view. There is just now great irritation in Cuba over that part of the War Department's call for the convention which makes it the convention's duty "to provide for and agree with the Government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that Government and the Government of Cuba." The Cuban leaders took great interest in the election of the delegates, but probably not more than half of the registered voters attended the polls. The convention will include some of the ablest men in Cuba, and its sessions will begin at Havana on Monday, November 5, the day before our Presidential election.

The "Third-ticket Anti's." The attempt of certain gold-standard anti-imperialists to place a third ticket before the country has not met with much encouragement. As reported by us last month, the various groups of anti-imperialists that met at Indianapolis in the middle of August almost unanimously determined in favor of supporting Mr. Bryan. A few, however,—under the leadership of Mr. Thomas M. Osborne, of Auburn, N. Y.; Mr. John Jay Chapman, of New York City; Dr. William Everett, of Massachusetts, and others,—persisted in their previously expressed determination to name a ticket. They met in Carnegie Hall, New York, September 5, with Mr. Osborne in the chair, and adopted the name of the National Party, agreed upon a platform, and selected candidates. Their nominee for the Presidency is the Hon. Donelson Caffery, Senator from Louisiana, who declined, and whose place had not been filled as we went

to press. For the Vice-Presidency they selected Mr. Archibald M. Howe, of Cambridge, Mass. Their attitude is a perfectly logical one, and, it seems to us, entitled to respect. Their platform has the merit of great clearness and brevity, and in these regards it is a model. We quote it in full:

Convinced that the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States for the purpose of holding foreign



MR. A. M. HOWE, OF THE NATIONAL PARTY.

peoples as colonial dependents is an innovation dangerous to our liberties and repugnant to the principles upon which our Government is founded, we pledge our honest effort, through all constitutional means, to procure the renunciation of all imperial or colonial pretensions over citizens of countries alleged to have been acquired through or in course of the military and naval operations of the last two years.

Second—We furthermore pledge our efforts to secure a single gold standard and a sound banking system.

Third—To secure a public service based on merit only.

Fourth—To secure the abolition of all corrupting special privileges, whether under the guise of subsidies, bounties, undeserved pensions, or trust-breeding tariffs.

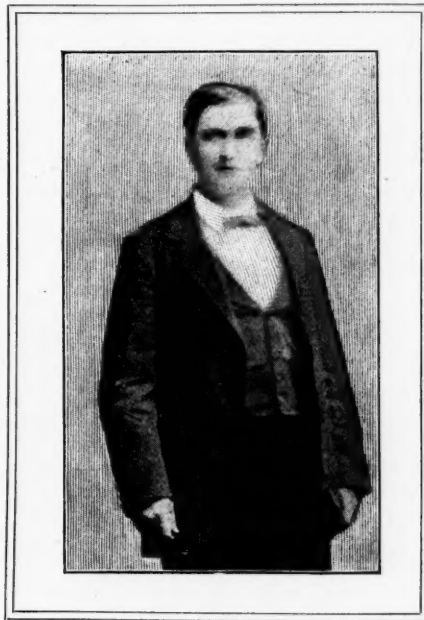
It is reported that this party, which of course has no expectation of victory this year in any community, will not nominate full electoral tickets, but will name one candidate for elector in each State, and will be able, by the number of votes cast for this candidate, to ascertain its numerical strength.

*September
State
Elections.*

The State elections in Vermont and Maine resulted in Republican majorities quite as large as had been generally anticipated. The Vermont majority, which has long been regarded as a significant straw showing the drift of national sentiment, was larger than at any corresponding time for about thirty years, excepting only four years ago, when it was nearly 37,000. This year it is about 32,500. In Maine, the Republican plurality was about 34,000, and, as in Vermont, was even a little larger than the Republican managers had figured upon. An election was held in Arkansas on September 3, and the Democratic candidate for governor, the Hon. Jeff Davis, received a plurality of about 40,000 votes.

*Republican
Forecasts for
November.*

Mr. Payne, of Wisconsin, vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee, early in September issued a statement representing the forecast of the Republican managers for the Presidential election. Twenty-two States are claimed as certain for McKinley, these having a total electoral vote of 249, while 224 is a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, which is 447. Seventeen States are conceded to Mr. Bryan, these having a total vote of 145. These conceded States are all Southern, excepting Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Utah. The list of States given by Mr. Payne



HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS.
(Elected governor of Arkansas.)

as doubtful is as follows: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, West Virginia, and Indiana. Mr. Payne's list, with the number of electoral votes belonging to each State, is as follows:

<i>Certain for McKinley.</i>		<i>Conceded to Bryan.</i>	
California.....	9	Alabama.....	11
Connecticut.....	6	Arkansas.....	8
Illinois.....	24	Colorado.....	4
Iowa.....	13	Florida.....	4
Kansas.....	10	Georgia.....	13
Maine.....	6	Idaho.....	3
Massachusetts.....	15	Louisiana.....	8
Michigan.....	14	Mississippi.....	9
Minnesota.....	9	Missouri.....	17
New Hampshire.....	4	Montana.....	3
New Jersey.....	10	Nevada.....	3
New York.....	36	North Carolina.....	11
North Dakota.....	3	South Carolina.....	9
Ohio.....	23	Tennessee.....	12
Oregon.....	4	Texas.....	15
Pennsylvania.....	32	Utah.....	3
Rhode Island.....	4	Virginia.....	12
South Dakota.....	4	Total.....	145
Vermont.....	4		
Washington.....	4		
Wisconsin.....	12		
Wyoming.....	3		
Total.....	249		

FIGHTING GROUND.

Delaware.....	3	West Virginia.....	6
Kentucky.....	13	Indiana.....	15
Maryland.....	8		
Nebraska.....	8	Total.....	53
Total vote.....			447
Necessary to elect.....			224

Mr. Payne declares that there is no possible way of figuring out Bryan's election without New York, and that New York is as safely Republican as Wisconsin.

Democratic Claims.

It is necessary to say, however, that the Democrats repudiate these Republican forecasts with scorn. As to the claim that New York is as safely Republican as Wisconsin, they reply that the German-Americans hold the balance in Wisconsin, and that this year, as eight years ago, the German vote is going to be Democratic. Four years ago, Mr. McKinley carried the State by almost 100,000. The Democrats also reiterate their expectation that they will carry New York. They claim Indiana, and propose to make every effort to make good the claim. On October 3 there will assemble at Indianapolis the national convention of Democratic clubs. These clubs, under the presidency of Mr. William R. Hearst, proprietor of the *New York Journal*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, and the *Chicago American*, have shown a rapid and enthusiastic development which thus far is the most striking feature of the Democratic campaign. It is claimed that this national association of clubs now embraces a membership of 1,500,000, and that the gathering

at Indianapolis will be the largest political assemblage ever held in the country. It is reported that Tammany is sending money to Indiana. Democrats make strong claims of strength in



MR. WILLIAM R. HEARST.

(President of the National Association of Democratic Clubs.)

Ohio, an important element of which is the canvass that Mayor Jones, of Toledo, is making for Mr. Bryan.

New York Politics.

If the Democrats of New York had been united upon their strongest man for governor, they might possibly have elected their State ticket and at the same time secured a good fighting chance for their Presidential electors. There was great enthusiasm for the candidacy of the Hon. Bird S. Coler, the Controller of New York City. But the delegates from New York, who were mere dummies under the control of Richard Croker, naturally opposed a Democrat who had made no secret of his opposition to the leaders and the methods of Tammany Hall. The great contest lay between ex-Senator David B. Hill, who supported Coler, and Croker, who merely stood for anything to beat Coler. The result was the nomination of the Hon. John B. Stanchfield, of Elmira, Senator Hill's friend and former law partner, a nomination not objectionable in itself so much as in the circumstances by which it was brought about. The Republicans had nominated the Hon. B. B. Odell, chairman of the State Committee and absolutely identified with Mr. Platt's conduct of New York State politics.

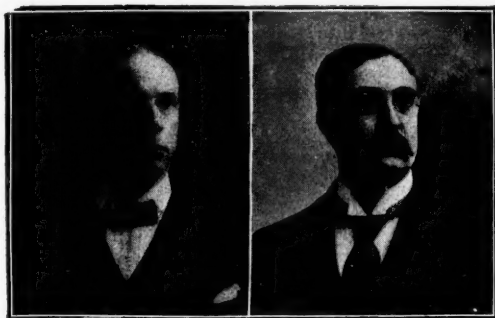


Photo by Davis & Sanford, N. Y.

HON. JOHN B. STANCHFIELD.

(Democratic nominee for governor.)

Photo by Hall, Buffalo.

HON. WILLIAM F. MACKEY.

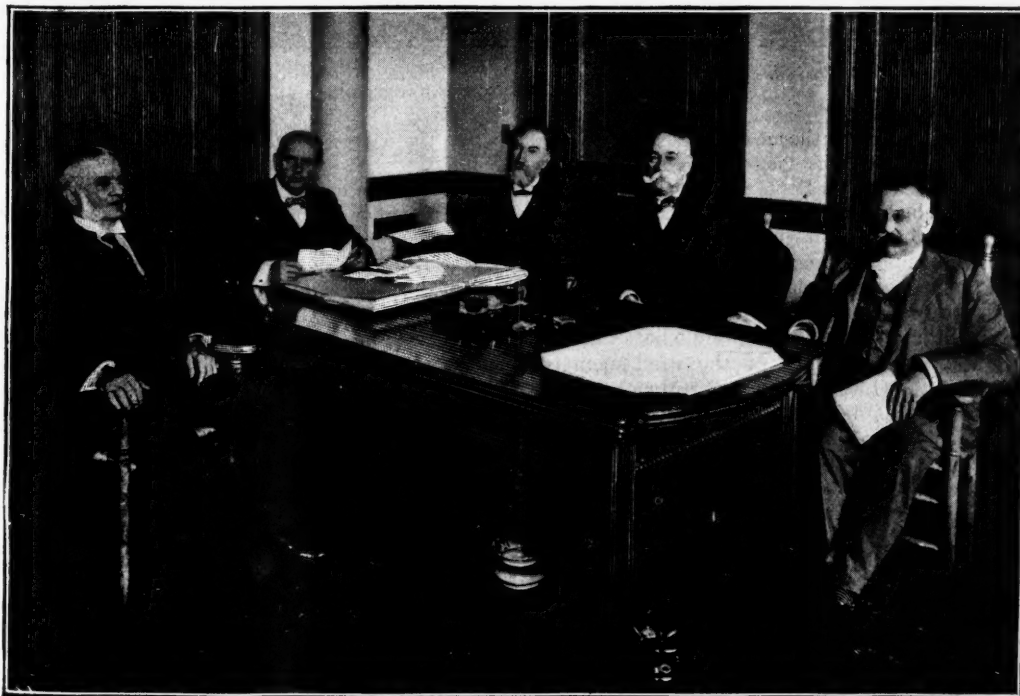
(Democratic nominee for lieutenant-governor.)

Mr. Coler on the Democratic ticket would have drawn away from Mr. Odell the greater part of the independent vote and some portion of the anti-Platt Republicans. It now appears that Republicans of all shades of opinion will support Mr. Odell, and that the independent vote will be divided, as indicated by the fact that of its two principal exponents, the *New York Times* prefers Mr. Stanchfield and the *New York Evening Post* prefers Mr. Odell. Both parties and

candidates are more or less emphatically pledged to maintain the franchise tax on street railway and other corporations, and to oppose the infamous Ramapo conspiracy for robbing municipalities of their prospective sources of water-supply.

*Money
in the
Campaign.*

It is commonly understood that both great parties will spend more money in this year's campaign than was ever before used in the history of American politics. Mr. Hanna and Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss are the most successful money-raisers the Republican party has ever had. The Democrats charge that the Republican campaign fund is being swollen by gifts from the great trusts and corporations. The Republicans charge that Tammany Hall is raising millions by its peculiar system of levying upon interests which it has under its protection. The fundamental basis, however, of this year's campaign on both sides is the appeal to public opinion, and the attempt to win over the voter through his intellect or his sensibilities. Most of the money is used to pay for the printing and distribution of documents, and for the legitimate expenses of public speakers. It is a mistake to suppose that mere bribery or corruption will count in any essential manner in the campaign.



Hon. C. N. Bliss.

Hon. M. Hanna.

Hon. N. B. Scott.

Hon. F. S. Gibbs.

Hon. J. H. Manley.

THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE IN ITS NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS.



From a photo for the New York Journal.

A SCENE FROM THE WRECK OF GALVESTON.

Galveston's Calamity. The Southern coast of the United States was visited by a tropical hurricane on September 6-9, the fury of which reached its climax at and near Galveston, Texas, 1:45 A. M., on Sunday, the 9th. Galveston is built upon the east end of a beautiful but low-lying island some thirty miles long and six or seven miles wide at the point of greatest extent, though only a mile or two wide where the city is built. The pressure of the wind upon the waters of the Gulf was so powerful and so continuous that it lifted the waves on the north coast many feet above the ordinary high-tide level, and for a short time the entire city was submerged. The demolition caused by the wind alone, apart from the invasion of the sea, would have resulted in a great loss of property and considerable loss of life. But the combined attack of hurricane and tidal-wave produced indescribable horrors—the destruction of property sinking into insignificance when compared with the appalling loss of life. The new census taken in June accredited Galveston with a population of 37,789. The calamity of a few hours seems to have reduced that number by 20 per cent. The loss of life in villages and at isolated points

along the coast-line will probably bring the sum total of deaths caused by this fatal storm up to 10,000. The condition of the survivors for two or three days beggars description. The water had quickly receded, and all means of communication had been destroyed, including steamships, railroads, telephone and telegraph lines, and public highways. Practically all food supplies had been destroyed, and the drinking-water supply had been cut off by the breaking of the aqueduct pipes. The tropical climate required the most summary measures for the disposition of the bodies of the dead. Military administration was made necessary, and many ghoulis looters and plunderers were summarily shot, either in the act of robbing the dead or upon evidence of guilt. It is needless to dwell upon the horrors of the situation. As against the blind force of nature that precipitated the calamity, there stands out in splendid contrast the wonderful qualities of hope, courage, devotion, heroism, generosity, and undaunted enterprise that were manifested in the very face of the disaster. To the question whether the site of Galveston had better not be abandoned altogether, there came an emphatic negative. The pluck of Galveston had behind it

the vigor and unlimited resources of the great State of Texas, and the sympathy and quick generosity of the entire nation. Relief agencies everywhere set to work promptly to forward food, clothing, and money to the impoverished survivors. Great corporations like the Southern Pacific Railroad made haste to restore their Galveston facilities, and ingenious engineers brought forward suggestions for protection of the city against future inundations. These suggestions embraced such improvements as additional breakwaters, jetties, dikes, and the filling in of a portion of the bay, between Galveston and the mainland. The United States Government in recent years has spent \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000 in engineering works to deepen the approach to Galveston harbor. The channel, which was formerly only 20 or 21 feet deep across the bar, is now 27 feet deep, and the action of wind and tide between the jetties cuts the passage a little deeper every year. The foreign trade of Galveston, particularly in cotton, has been growing by leaps and bounds. It will assuredly not be allowed to languish or come to a standstill.



A CRY FROM THE SOUTHLAND.

From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer.

There are about 140,000 men employed in the anthracite coal-mines of Pennsylvania. For a number of weeks their dissatisfaction with their lot had taken the form of a serious proposal to join in a general strike. The order was at length given by the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America, and it took effect on

Monday, September 17. A week later it was reported that fully 125,000 out of the 140,000 men had left the mines. Their grievances included the long-standing objection to being compelled to buy their supplies at the coal companies' stores, where, as they claim, they are obliged to pay double the market price for some very



FOR THE SAKE OF THESE—ARBITRATE!

From the New York World.

essential things, such as the powder they use in their work. They are nominally paid for mining by the ton, which the law, they say, specifies to be 2,240 pounds, while they declare that the mine-owners compel them to dig from 2,700 to 4,000 pounds for each ton. The miners demand release from the compulsion to pay a dollar a month out of their wages to the company's doctors, whether they are sick or well. They also declare that their wages, which were at the lowest point compatible with a bare existence for their families, have remained at the old figure, while the cost of living has been increased by a general advance in the price of food, clothing, etc. The phase of the situation that is evidently most repugnant to the views of the mine-owners and operators is the compactness of the union movement. They declare that as separate individuals or concerns they have no objection to meeting their men in a conciliatory spirit for the discussion of real or alleged grievances; but they also affirm that conditions vary so much in the different mines and districts of the anthracite region that the operators cannot afford to permit the successful development of a miners' union under such perfect control that a central executive.

board can dictate in detail to individual operators in the case of local differences from time to time. Each side, of course, sees the situation from its own point of view. But the working-men in this instance, as in several similar ones heretofore, have appealed successfully to public sympathy by their avowal of readiness to submit their case to fair and impartial arbitration—a

It was impossible, when these pages closed for the press, to make any predictions as to the duration or outcome of the strike.

*President
Krüger's
Retreat.*

The English will be spared the embarrassing question of deciding what to do with President Krüger. They will not have to put him on trial for his life; neither



MR. JOHN MITCHELL.

(President of the United Mine Workers of America, who is conducting the strike.)

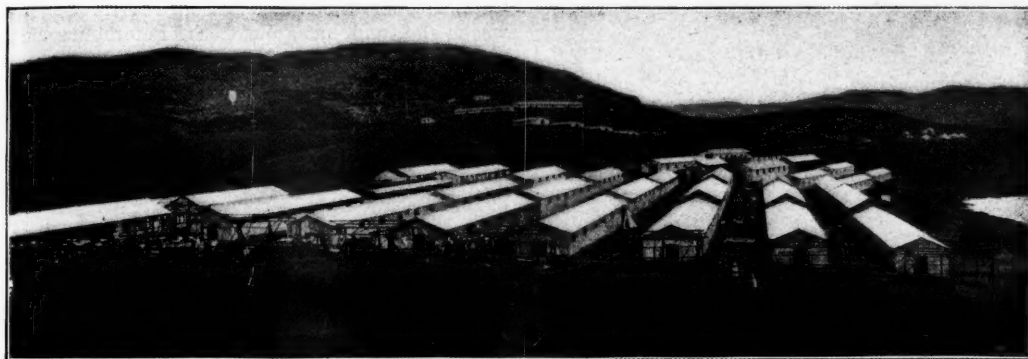


ARCHBISHOP RYAN, OF PHILADELPHIA.

(Leader of the movement for arbitrating the mining disputes.)

recourse that the owners and operators almost invariably dislike and oppose. These coal lands once belonged to the public. They are not an entirely suitable object of private ownership. The coal deposits are a form of wealth not created by any man's effort or enterprise, and exceedingly necessary to the general well-being. The financial history of the Pennsylvania anthracite lands is full of lessons and warnings. The miners certainly have a hard enough time; but the general public, also, has been a victim of the artificial and improper system under which a group of common carriers that ought to have no interest, direct or indirect, in the commodities they transport, have acquired a virtually monopolistic control of the output of the one great anthracite region of this country and of the world. Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, and clergymen of all denominations throughout the mining region were lifting up their voices in favor of arbitration last month.

will they deport him to St. Helena, whither they have sent a part of the Boer prisoners; nor yet to Ceylon, where another part are living in a guarded prison camp, an illustration of which we publish herewith. Mr. Krüger had from the time of his withdrawal from Pretoria occupied one temporary capital after another, until finally the Boer political headquarters may be said to have been literally "on wheels." A dispatch of September 12 from Lourenço Marques—the Portuguese seaport on Delagoa Bay and the natural outlet for the Transvaal—announced the presence there of President Krüger and several other Transvaal officials. State Secretary Reitz, however, and Mr. Steyn, formerly president of the Orange Free State, were said to be still in the Transvaal; and the duties of the presidency had been left, for the present, in charge of General Schalk-Burger, the vice-president. It was announced that Mr. Krüger would sail for



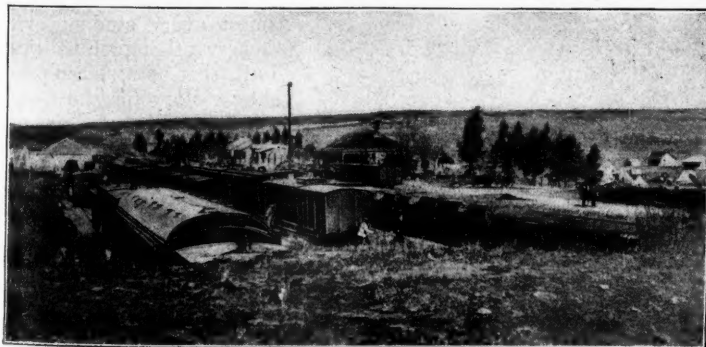
THE BOER PRISON IN THE HAPPY VALLEY, CEYLON.

Europe on the German steamer *Herzog*, about September 24. It was subsequently made known that the government of Holland would bring Mr. and Mrs. Krüger and their party to Europe on a warship, the English Government having been duly notified by the Dutch foreign office, and having made no objections. Mr. Krüger is supposed to be armed with plenipotentiary authority to conclude terms of peace or otherwise to negotiate on behalf of the Transvaal. The English, however, will not consider any terms except absolute surrender; inasmuch as, from their point of view, the war has lost all vestige of international character, and has become a domestic insurrection.

On September 1, Lord Roberts, from his army headquarters, then at the "Vaal River Colony," Transvaal town of Belfast, issued a proclamation that the Transvaal was thenceforth to form a part of her Majesty's dominions. The Orange Free State several months ago was converted into the "Orange River Colony;" and the Transvaal, or South African Republic, has now become, in official British parlance,

the "Vaal River Colony." For some time the English Government has been declaring the war to be virtually at an end; but seldom has a vanquished and scattered enemy been so troublesome. Gen. Louis Botha, undoubtedly convinced that further organized and regular military resistance was worse than useless, was in September superseded in command of the Boer forces by the irreconcilable Viljoen, better adapted to the conduct of a relentless guerrilla campaign. It was reported on September 20 that of the 3,000 Boers who had retreated from Komati Poort before the British advance from Machadodorp the majority had scattered in various directions, while some hundreds had crossed the line into Portuguese territory; and it was further said that they had at last decided to destroy the artillery which they had used so long and effectively. This means, of course, the final abandonment of all attempts to fight in considerable bodies as regular soldiery. It is not likely that even the most determined of the guerrilla fighters will think it worth their while to greatly prolong the now hopeless situation. The English have paid a sufficient price,

and the Boers ought now to accept the inevitable with the best grace possible, and consider their personal and private interests. The English Government wanted Krüger out of the Transvaal, and it is said in England that in going to Europe the old president will be in a position where he can neither harm his enemies nor help his friends. The special South African envoys, Messrs. Fischer, Wessels, and Wolmorans, issued a



THE RECENT BOER CAPITAL AT MACHADODORP.



LORD ROBERTS' LITTLE ANNEXATION JOKE.

He presents the Queen with a gentle(?) souvenir of the South-African War.—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

statement from Amsterdam, on September 15, in which they declared that the object of the British in announcing the annexation of the Transvaal was to avoid the further necessity of recognizing the Boers as belligerents and treating them in accordance with the rules of warfare. The weekly losses, chiefly from disease, reported by the British War Office, continue to be very heavy. The United States military attaché,

Capt. Herbert Slocum, left South Africa several weeks ago, and has gone to St. Petersburg as a member of the American legation.

The Pending Elections in England.

The British Government has been for some time awaiting what might seem to be the favorable moment for dissolving Parliament and ordering a new general election. Mr. Chamberlain strongly insisted that the party now in power ought to secure a fresh lease from the people while the martial spirit was still high, and before the inevitable reaction against the hideous South-African business should have arrived to sweep the Liberals into power



WANTED—SOME SODA-WATER.

JOHN BULL: "Waiter! bring me some soda-water."

"A few months ago the whole country was drunk with Mr. Chamberlain's new wine, the Imperial brand, but to-day it is demanding soda-water."—Mr. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, at Manchester, September 1, 1900.—*Westminster Gazette*.



BOERS TAKING THE OATH IN A BRITISH CAMP.

again. Accordingly, it was announced on September 17 that Parliament would be dissolved on the 25th, and that the new Parliament to be elected in October should assemble on November 1. Almost every student and observer of English politics admits that nothing can prevent a victory for the Conservatives, although it is not claimed by any one that their majority will be anything like as large as it has been in the Parliament now ended, which first met on August 12, 1895. The duration of this Parliament was a little longer than five years. If it had continued two years longer, it would

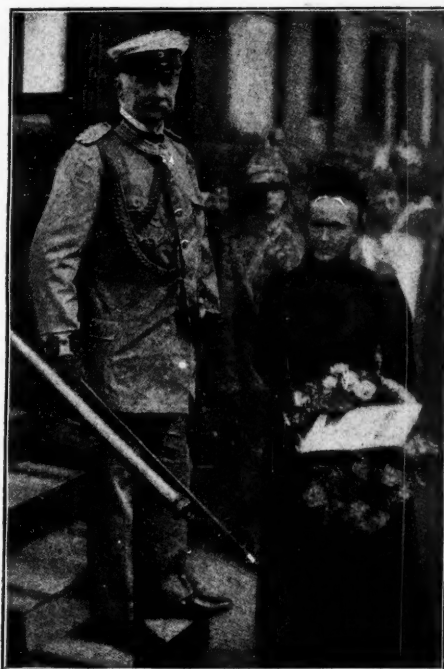
have been dissolved by virtue of the law which limits the life of a Parliament to seven years. This was the fourteenth Parliament of Queen Victoria's long reign; and the average length of Victorian Parliaments has been exactly four years and six months. The thirteenth Parliament lasted a little less than three years, Mr. Gladstone being Prime Minister during the first half of that period and Lord Salisbury during the second half. The twelfth Parliament lasted nearly six years, Lord Salisbury being Prime Minister. The shortest Parliament of the Victorian era was the eleventh, which lasted less than six months, Mr. Gladstone being the head of the government. It has not been customary hitherto for Parliament to dissolve at a time when the ministry controls a large working majority in both houses, with the country expressing no demand for an opportunity to renew its representation in the House of Commons. The dissolution at the present moment, therefore, looks like a rather sharp political trick, having as its design the securing of another long term of power by those who now hold the reins. The elections find the Liberal party without unity or leadership. Sir William Harcourt has expressed hope of a Liberal victory; and men like Mr. Morley, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Asquith, and many more will each for himself make bold and strenuous declaration of his faith, but it would take at least another year to get the Liberal party into trim for a successful fight.

China and the Powers. It was not to be expected for a moment that the extraordinary crisis in China should have been tided over without a protracted period of diplomatic discussion, after the rescue of the foreigners at Peking by international military intervention had been



JOE CHAMBERLAIN, THE POINTER.

"What's the good of my pointing? He'll never get a better chance than this!"—From *Punch* (London).



COUNT WALDERSEE LEAVING BERLIN FOR CHINA.

(Count Waldersee, the commander-in-chief of the European forces operating in China, left Berlin wearing the uniform which the Emperor William wore on his voyage to Jerusalem, and which was presented to the count by the Emperor. The Countess Waldersee is shown in our illustration seeing her husband off.)

accomplished. The programme of the United States has been clear from the beginning. Until the foreigners were rescued, we could not treat with the Chinese Government; but after their rescue,—no state of war existing between the people and government of the United States and those of China,—it remained to plan for the withdrawal of our troops as soon as prudence and common sense might justify such a step, and then to negotiate with the Imperial Government of China for a reasonable indemnity and guarantees of future good behavior. Our Government was ready enough, therefore, when a month ago Russia proposed the withdrawal of troops from Peking, to express approval of that plan, provided it could be generally agreed to. Germany was not ready, however, to withdraw, and England seemed to be deeply suspicious of Russia's good faith in making the suggestion. The German Government insisted, as a preliminary condition, that those persons high in authority who were guilty of the assassination of Von Ketteler, the German Minister, and of other outrages against foreigners, should be delivered

From the *Illustrated London News*.

A TYPICAL BOXER.

over by the Chinese to the allied forces for con-dign punishment. Even if this were otherwise reasonable or possible, a moment's thought will show that this demand implies that the guilty persons are well known, and can be surrendered for punishment without any judicial investigation as to their innocence or guilt.

*As to Punish-
ing the
Chinese.*

The futility of this German position is almost as great as that of the insane British jingoes, like Rudyard Kipling, who would like to punish, as guilty of high treason, everybody in South Africa who showed active sympathy with the Boer cause. Millions of people in China had been stirred to something like a frenzy of patriotic opposition to foreigners by the circulation among them, in vast editions, of numerous anti-foreign papers and books making all sorts of charges against the Europeans, some of which were true and many of which were false. It is a notorious fact that the European powers have been greedily planning to seize and cut up China at the very first

opportunity. It is not so strange that the Chinese were led to excesses by the Boxer fanatics as that they have been so easily induced to quiet down again. The severe retribution policy now proposed by Germany could only lead in the end to far more formidable movements in hostility to Europe. The thing that is necessary is to encourage and to require the firm establishment in authority of a liberal Chinese imperial government, such as the young Emperor himself could successfully carry on if the Dowager Empress and a dozen of her malign advisers could be deported for life. England would do well to send General Cronje and his brave Boers back home from St. Helena, and to turn the island over to the allied powers for the use of the Chinese Dowager Empress.

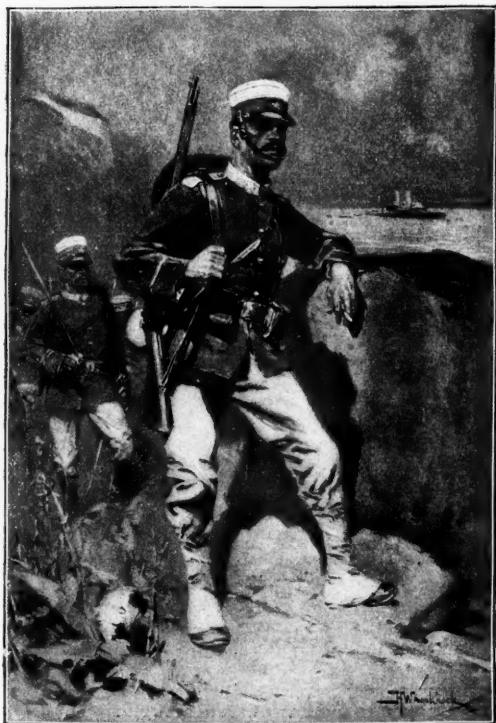
Germany has a foothold in China, and is evidently determined to use the present opportunity for further territorial seizure. Russia has not the slightest intention of relinquishing Manchuria. Japan in the past two months has been quietly but actively putting additional army divisions on a war footing, with the design, very probably, of seizing Korea while Russia is occupied in Manchuria. We know that the Japanese press has urged this course. England in a languid way prefers that these things should not happen; but England



LI HUNG CHANG.

(From his latest portrait.)

meanwhile is making all her plans to console herself by seizing, as she has always done in the past, a good deal more than anybody else, if the game of grab once fairly sets in. France, also, is definitely prepared to advance from her existing bases. If China had been wise enough to maintain a liberal government for a considerable length of time, the country would have made such progress that it could have relied upon its own army to protect it efficiently against these unscrupulous European foes. It will be the duty of the United States to speak with the utmost plainness in condemnation of the European policy of Chinese spoliation, but it will not be possible for us to fight about it; and the only thing that can save China will be the Chinese themselves. If they show a readiness to permit the Europeans to partition and annex their country, the thing will inevitably come to pass. There is not a power in Europe strong enough to annex little Switzerland, because of the pluck and high spirit of the Swiss people. It has strained all the resources of the greatest empire the world has ever seen to annex the country occupied by a handful of Boers, who were not numerous enough, all told, to make up a fair-sized Chinese city.



From the *Illustrated London News*.

A JAPANESE INFANTRYMAN.



GERMAN EMPEROR (to Field-Marshal Graf von Waldersee): "You are appointed to command the United Forces of Civilization! You are a German. Remember your Kaiser!! And do try to be there before it's all over!!!"

From *Punch* (London).

It has been unfortunate that there should be any doubt cast upon the full authority of Li Hung Chang and his associates to conduct negotiations. There is no very general belief in the good faith of Li Hung Chang, and no imperial authority is in clear evidence back of him. The vicious old Dowager Empress, dragging the Emperor and the court with her, had retreated to an inaccessible point in the interior before the allied troops entered Peking. There are intelligent Chinese ministers in the principal capitals of the world. These ought to secure from whatever imperial authority may exist in China the permission to ask that the whole perplexing situation be submitted to a court of inquiry of the kind provided for in the treaty adopted at The Hague. And the United States, in any case, could hardly err in earnestly promoting that view. Of course, there can be no military withdrawal until order has been restored in China and a government capable of maintaining authority is in undisturbed control of the situation. Events reported after the middle of September made it clear that the Boxers were not wholly subdued, and that complete

evacuation by the allies would only be the signal for a reoccupation of Peking by the rioters; while the anti-foreign press of China would persuade the people that the foreigners had withdrawn through cowardice. No one can deny



A CHINESE PUZZLE.

SENTRY: "Who goes there?"
 LI HUNG CHANG: "Friend! You know me very well—a friend to everybody!"
 SENTRY: "H'm! Give me the countersign!"
 From *Punch* (London).

that the whole situation remains one of extreme danger and difficulty, and that modern diplomacy has not had to deal with any problem so critical and perplexing.

Elections in Both Hemispheres. Canada, like England and the United States, is in the midst of political discussion, preparatory to a general election. Sir Charles Tupper heads the forces of the Conservative opposition. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal prime minister, has the especial advantage of immense strength in the great French-speaking province of Quebec, and his supporters expect to win a substantial victory. Parliamentary elections have been held in Norway, with no change in the general political complexion of the government. The Austrian Reichsrath has been dissolved, and an election campaign is pending throughout that country. Australia has been greatly interested in the federal elections which will create the first general lawmaking body of the new commonwealth. Just as we are on the eve of celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary

of the founding of the city of Washington, and the creation of our federal District of Columbia, the Australians will be deciding upon the site of their new federal capital. It is likely to be on the Murray River, which separates the provinces of New South Wales and Victoria. The date set for the formal establishment of the Australian Commonwealth is the opening day of the new century—namely, January 1, 1901. The Australians are complaining vigorously of the attempt that is being made by the British Government to keep the colonial troops in South Africa permanently through the offer of free grants of land on the American homestead plan. Australia insists upon having her troops returned intact. A cartoon from the *Sydney Bulletin* which we publish herewith shows, rather amusingly, the Australian opinion of the attempt to catch the kangaroo in the land-grant steel trap.



THE ATTEMPT TO TRAP THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIAL TROOPS, WITH LAND-GRANT BAIT, INTO PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(From the *Sydney Bulletin*.)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From August 21 to September 20, 1900.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

August 21.—Delaware Republicans ("regular," or anti-Addicks faction) nominate Jonathan S. Willis for governor.

August 22.—Governor Shaw, of Iowa, appoints Representative J. P. Dolliver to succeed the late John H. Gear in the United States Senate.... Wisconsin Democrats nominate Louis H. Bohmrich for governor.

August 23.—Union Republicans (Addicks faction) in Delaware accept the Presidential electors named by the "regular" Republicans.... William J. Bryan accepts the Populist nomination for the Presidency at Topeka, Kan.

August 27.—The executive committee of the Populist party at Chicago nominates Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-President on the ticket with William J. Bryan, to fill the vacancy caused by Charles A. Towne's declination of the nomination.

August 31.—The Government at Washington takes measures for the relief of destitute miners at Cape Nome, Alaska.

September 3.—Arkansas Democrats elect Jefferson Davis governor by a majority of more than 50,000.

September 4.—Vermont Republicans elect W. W. Stickney governor by a plurality of more than 31,000.... United States Senator Wellington, of Maryland, elected as a Republican, declares in favor of the election of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

September 5.—New York Republicans nominate Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., for governor.... Connecticut Republicans nominate George P. McLean for governor.... Montana Republicans nominate David E. Folsom for governor.... Utah Republicans renominate Heber M. Wells for governor.... The National party, in convention at New York City, nominates Senator Donelson Caffery (Dem.), of Louisiana, for President, and Archibald M. Howe (Ind.), of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

September 6.—Minnesota Democrats and Populists renominate John Lind for governor.... Utah Democrats nominate James H. Moyle for governor.

September 9.—President McKinley's letter accepting the Republican nomination for a second term is made public.

September 10.—Maine Republicans elect Dr. John F. Hill governor by a plurality of more than 34,000.

September 11.—New Hampshire Republicans nominate Chester B. Jordan for governor.... Delaware Democrats nominate Peter J. Ford for governor.

September 12.—New York Democrats nominate John B. Stanchfield for governor.

September 14.—Four Republican mass meetings open the campaign in New York City.

September 15.—The election of delegates to the coming constitutional convention in Cuba results in an overwhelming triumph of the Nationalist party. There is



A GROUP OF DIPLOMATS AT PEKING.

(Reading from left to right: 1. Marquis Salvago Raggi [Italian minister, wounded siege of Peking]. 2. M. de Giers [Russian minister]. 3. Baron de Cartes [Belgian minister]. 4. Late Baron von Ketteler [German minister, murdered].)

a total registered vote of 186,240, distributed among the provinces as follows: Province of Pinar del Rio, 18,072; province of Havana, outside of the city, 23,181; city of Havana, 26,478; province of Matanzas, 18,344; province of Santa Clara, 39,659; province of Puerto Principe, 11,123; and province of Santiago de Cuba, 49,384.

September 16.—Governor Roosevelt's letter accepting the Republican nomination for the Vice-Presidency is made public.

September 17.—Colorado Republicans nominate Frank C. Goudy for governor.... Missouri Populists indorse the entire Democratic State ticket.... President McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission are made public.... William J. Bryan's letter accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency is made public.

September 18.—Texas Republicans nominate George W. Burkett for governor.

September 20.—The withdrawal of Senator Donelson Caffery from the Presidential ticket of the National party is announced.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

August 22.—The Indian Government is compelled to remove the Maharaja of Bharatpur from power owing to his vicious and intemperate habits....The trial of twenty-five prisoners concerned in the Cawnpore plague riots takes place at Allahabad....Earl Beauchamp resigns the governorship of New South Wales, in view of the proclamation of the commonwealth.

August 25.—The Marquis Ito issues a manifesto at Yokohama setting forth the aims of his new Japanese party.

August 29.—Gaetano Bresci, the assassin of King Humbert, is tried, found guilty, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

September 5.—Lord Amthill is appointed governor of Madras.

September 7.—The lower house of the Austrian Reichsrath is dissolved and a new election ordered.

September 10.—The triennial elections to the Norwegian Storting are completed; the political complexion of the membership remains essentially unchanged.

September 18.—The Netherlands States-General is reopened by Queen Wilhelmina.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

August 22.—King Oscar, of Sweden and Norway, consents to act as a arbitrator of the claims for losses sustained by British and German subjects and American citizens in Samoa....It is announced that a treaty of amity, commerce, navigation, and general intercourse has been signed provisionally by the representatives of the United States and Spain.

August 25.—The Czar of Russia receives Dr. Leyds, of the South African Republic, in audience at Peterhof.

August 27.—The Vatican appeals to the Catholic powers of Europe for relief from Italian rule, and declares that Victor Emmanuel will be recognized only as King of Sardinia....Roumania demands of Bulgaria that the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee be suppressed.

August 29.—As a result of friction between the two governments, the Bulgarian diplomatic agent to Roumania is recalled.

August 31.—A frontier conflict takes place between Roumanian and Bulgarian peasants, in which two Bulgarians are killed and many of both parties wounded.

September 4.—The ratifications of the peace-confer-

ence treaties are placed in the archives of the Foreign Office at The Hague.

September 8.—Ex-President Harrison accepts President McKinley's appointment as a member of the International Board of Arbitration under the treaty of The Hague; ex-President Cleveland declines an appointment.

September 12.—Chile rejects Bolivia's claim to a port on the Pacific....A commercial treaty between France and Haiti is sanctioned by the Haitian Legislature.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

August 21.—Li Hung Chang's peace proposals are rejected by the United States....Colonel Marchand is appointed member of the French corps for China.

August 22.—The Russians having destroyed the lock-gates on the In-Tai Canal, river transport is seriously impeded; the cable between Chefu and Taku is working, but the line from Taku to Tientsin and beyond is not; the Japanese alone have an effective mail service.

August 23.—An important letter is addressed by Yang Yu, Chinese minister to Russia, to Baroness von Suttner on the question of mission-aries in China.... The Japanese hold the wall round the innermost part of the "Forbidden City" in Peking; they have not forced their way into the palace.

August 24.—Chinese villagers are flocking into Tientsin at the rate of 1,000 daily; food supply is bad; there is every prospect of a famine....The Japanese protect the palace at Peking; the Japanese Government renews its assurances to protect the persons of the Emperor and Empress.

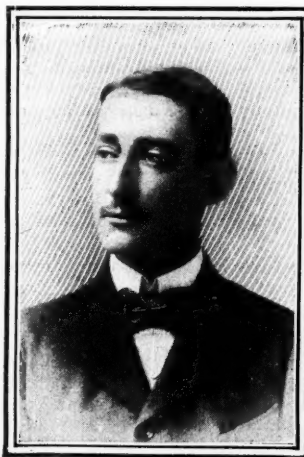
August 28.—The allied forces march through the "Forbidden City" in Peking.

August 30.—Three hundred men of the Sixth United States Cavalry defeat 600 Boxers at Hunting Park, 11 miles from Peking, killing 30 of the enemy and taking many prisoners.

September 1.—Russia denies any intention to make acquisitions of territory in China, and declares that the Russian troops will be withdrawn from Peking to Tientsin as soon as order is restored.

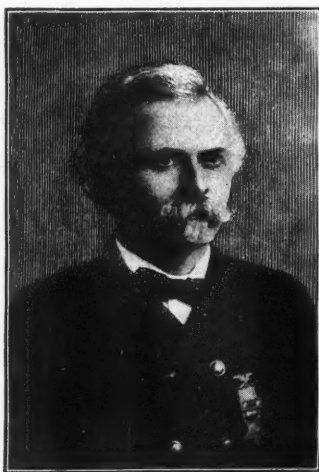
September 4.—Li Hung Chang, Yung Lu, Hsu Tung, and Prince Ching are appointed peace commissioners by imperial edict to negotiate with the powers.

September 8.—An expedition consisting of 4,000 troops



THE DUKE OF ABRUZZI.

(Who returned in September from an Arctic expedition in which he reached a point slightly nearer the Pole than Nansen's "farthest north.")



JUDGE LEO RASSIEUR.

(New Commander-in-Chief G. A. R.)

of the allies leaves Peking for Pao-Ting-Fu, 80 miles southwest.

September 10.—Italy proposes the evacuation of China by the powers and the reestablishment of the present dynasty.

September 12.—The United States War Department orders that supplies be not sent beyond Tientsin, in anticipation of the withdrawal of the troops from Peking.... Great Britain, replying to Russia's proposition for the withdrawal of troops by the powers, declines to evacuate Peking prior to receiving satisfactory guarantees from the Chinese authorities.

September 17.—Prince Ching requests the powers to instruct their ministers in Peking to begin peace negotiations immediately.

August 28.—General Buller's troops occupy Machadodorp, Krüger's latest capital.

August 30.—Major Leo Rassieur, of St. Louis, is elected commander-in-chief of the G. A. R. at Chicago.

September 1.—The steamship *Deutschland* completes the run from Cherbourg to Sandy Hook in 5 days, 12 hours, and 29 minutes.

September 2.—Fifteen persons are killed and 42 injured by a collision on the Bethlehem (Pa.) branch of the Philadelphia & Reading Railway.... A party of Russians ascends the Great Ararat Mountain in Armenia.

September 5.—The annual meeting of the British Association (Science) opens at Bradford.

September 6.—The Duke of Abruzzi's polar expedi-



Prof. Sir William Turner.
(President of the British Association, 1900.)



Joseph Larmor, M.A., D.S.C.
(Mathematical and Physical Science.)



Prof. W. H. Perkin.
(Chemistry.)



Dr. R. H. Traquair.
(Zoology.)



Prof. W. J. Sollas.
(Geology.)



Sir G. S. Robertson, K.C.S.I.
(Geography.)



Major P. G. Craigie.
(Economic Science.)



Sir Alexander R. Binnie.
(Mechanical Science.)



Prof. John Rhys.
(Anthropology.)



Prof. Sydney H. Vines.
(Botany.)

PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AND SECTIONS, SEVENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING, BRADFORD, SEPTEMBER 5.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

August 22.—A mob at Akron, Ohio, incensed by a negro's assault upon a little girl, burns the City Hall and other property.

August 24.—Lieut. Hans Cordua, the Boer officer convicted on the charge of conspiracy and violation of his parole at Pretoria, is shot by order of Lord Roberts.

August 25.—The Grand Army of the Republic opens its annual encampment at Chicago.

August 26.—Gen. Bruce Hamilton captures General Olivier, of the Boer army, at Winburg.

August 27.—It is reported from India that the natives are dying from cholera at the rate of 3,000 a week.... Three cases of bubonic plague at Glasgow are taken in charge by the medical authorities.... General Buller's troops capture Bergendal, a strong position west of Damanutha Railway Station.

tion, on the *Stellar Polare*, passes Hammerfest, Norway, on its return, reporting that it reached a point 86.33 degrees north.

September 8.—A West Indian hurricane does frightful damage along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico; the city of Galveston is inundated; 6,000 lives are lost; property to the value of \$12,000,000 is destroyed; communication with the rest of the world is cut off for 30 hours; 5,000 families are rendered shelterless and destitute; damage to the cotton crop is estimated at \$3,000,000.

September 9.—The steamship *Deutschland* arrives at Plymouth, England, 5 days, 7 hours, and 38 minutes from the port of New York.

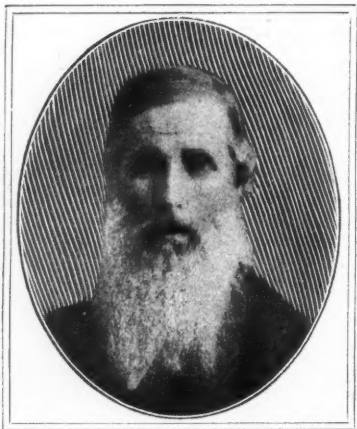
September 11.—President Krüger, of the South African Republic, arrives at Lourenzo Marques.

September 12.—A general strike of the miners in the

anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania is ordered by President John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers.

September 13.—A monument to the memory of Gen. Henry W. Lawton is dedicated at Fort Wayne, Ind.

September 17.—The strike of the coal miners in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania begins; more than 100,000 men quit work....Detachments of the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Infantry in the Philippines, 90 men



THE LATE PROF. HENRY SIDGWICK.
(Of Cambridge, England.)

all told, meet a force of 1,000 Filipino insurgents, armed with rifles and intrenched; the American loss is 12 killed, including Capt. David D. Mitchell, of the Fifteenth Infantry, 26 wounded, and 5 missing.

OBITUARY.

August 21.—Judge Charles H. Berry, of Winona, Minn., 77....Judge John Cromwell Orrick, of Missouri.

August 22.—Thomas Faed, the British artist, 74....Carl Rohl Smith, the sculptor, of Washington, D. C.

August 23.—Gen. Gustave Paul Cluseret, veteran of the Civil War, member of the Paris Commune.

August 25.—Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, the German philosopher, 56.

August 26.—Rev. Royal H. Pullman, of Baltimore, Md., a leading Universalist clergyman, 74.

August 29.—Prof. Henry Sidgwick, of Cambridge University, England, 62....Lieutenant-Commander

John A. Shearman, U.S.N., commended for gallant conduct during the Samoan hurricane.

August 31.—E. S. Washburn, president of the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis Railroad, 56....Sir John Bennett Lawes, noted for his discoveries in scientific farming, 86.

September 3.—Ex-Gov. L. D. Lewelling, of Kansas, 54.

September 4.—Rev. Erastus Milo Cravath, one of the founders and for many years president of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., 67.

September 5.—Arthur Sewall, of Maine, the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1896, 65....State Controller William J. Morgan, of New York, 60.

September 9.—Allan Hay, one of the promoters of the West Shore Railroad, 88.

September 10.—Col. Inness N. Palmer, U.S.A. (retired), a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars.

September 14.—Rear-Admiral Montgomery Sicard, U.S.N., 64....Prof. Thomas Davidson, a well-known author and lecturer, 60.



DISTRIBUTION OF AWARDS AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

September 19.—Rev. Father Clarence A. Walworth, of Albany, N. Y., 80....Dr. Hunter McGuire, an eminent surgeon of Richmond, Va., 65.

September 20.—Gen. John A. McClernand, one of the Union corps commanders in the Civil War, 88.



Sir F. M. Durand.
(Ambassador to Madrid.)



Mr. E. C. Phipps, C.B.
(Minister to Brussels.)



Sir W. Conynghame Greene.
(Minister to Teheran.)



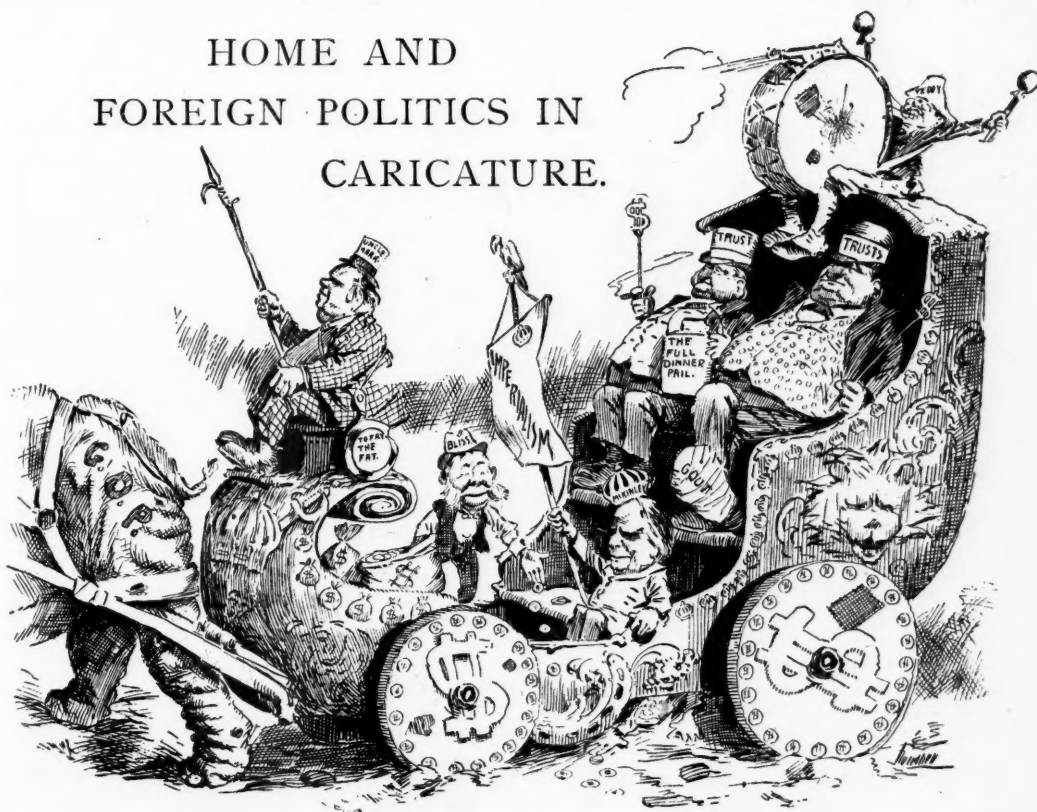
Sir Francis Plunket.
(Ambassador to Vienna.)



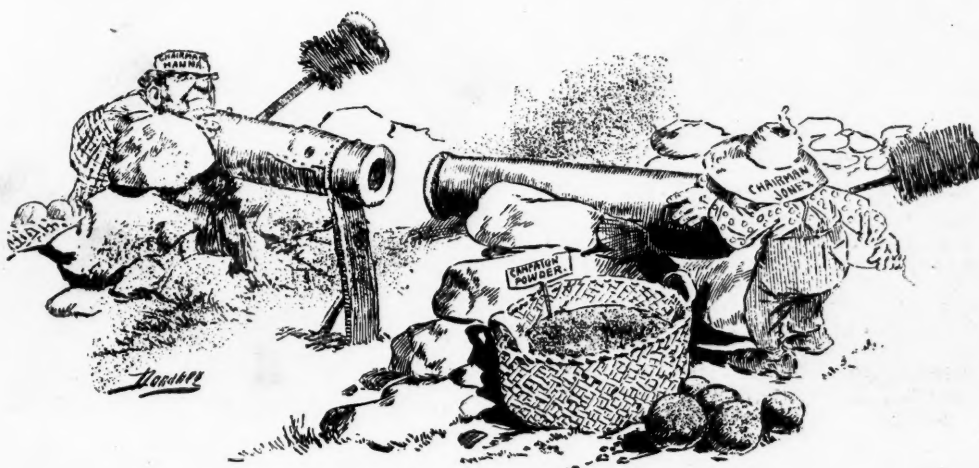
Sir Henry Nevill-Dering, Bt.
(Minister to Rio de Janeiro.)

FIVE NEW BRITISH DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS.

HOME AND FOREIGN POLITICS IN CARICATURE.



THE GOLDEN CHARIOT.—From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland).

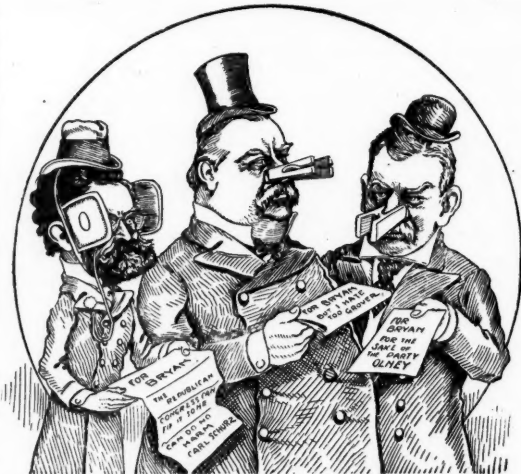


GETTING READY TO FIRE.—From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland).



A SURPRISE FOR TOM.

TOM REED: "B'gosh! don't seem as if they missed me a bit."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



THE HOLD-YOUR-NOSE-AND-VOTE DEMOCRATS ARE READY.

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

THE pith and wit of the American political cartoons on this page and the one facing it are too obvious to require comment. The Bryan revival meeting, with the returned backsliders on the front benches, will amuse the Democrats quite as much as the Republicans; while "Bart's" selection of a cabinet for Mr. Bryan may be regarded as a test of that excellent cartoonist's political sagacity.



THE ALLIED EMPERORS.

SULTAN OF SULU: "Certainly; your flag shall flutter beside mine at \$1,000 per flutter."

From the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans).



THE GERMAN VOTER.

He emigrated from Germany to escape imperialism and militarism. Ought there be any doubt about him now?

From the *Verdict* (New York).



"WHILE THE LAMP HOLDS OUT TO BURN," ETC.

BRYAN: "All who again see the true political light will please rise and proclaim it."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).



BRYAN'S CABINET IN SESSION.

How would you like to trust the country to an administration like this?—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



IMPERIALISM.

The paramount issue in New York.
From *Harper's Weekly* (New York).



DEMOCRATIC IMPERIALISM.

Government without the consent of the governed.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

The assertiveness of Richard Croker, the ruler of New York City and the boss of Tammany, is a very marked feature of this campaign and a very fit subject of caricature. He exercised the balance of power in the National Democratic Convention at Kansas City, and absolutely controlled the New York State Convention at Saratoga.

Mr. Bryan's alleged embarrassments, growing out of the conflict of issues, continues to form a favorite topic for the Republican press, as reflected in several cartoons on the opposite page. The Democrats in turn charge against the Republican administration a home alliance with trusts and a foreign alliance with England.



THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY.
Follow blindly where John Bull leads.
From the *Journal* (New York).



THE SITUATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.
HANNA: "The question of Trusts is a business question,
and should not have been brought into politics at all."
From the *Journal* (New York).



CARL SCHURZ: "Mister, don't you want to buy a dog? He's tame as a kitten (if you keep the muzzle on)."

UNCLE SAM: "Carley, you may not know it, but you're an awfully funny feller."—From the Tribune (Minneapolis).



THE GHOST: "Tell me, William, what Dems-Pop was it who helped ratify me?"

BRYAN: "Why! O goodness!! The-the-the-tut-tut-ba-ba-ba-it-was-me."

THE GHOST: "Then you are SOME to blame, aren't you?"

BRYAN: "Ya-ya-ya-ye-ye-YES."

From the Tribune (Minneapolis).



UNMASKED.—From the Tribune (New York).



"BE SURE YOU'RE OFF WITH THE OLD LOVE BEFORE YOU'RE ON WITH THE NEW."—From the Chronicle (San Francisco).



BRYAN: "Say, will you close your mouth while I am talking to the East?"—From the Herald (New York).



CITIZEN OR SUBJECT—WHICH?

"Do I represent the idea of popular government to ten million of these Filipinos, or am I simply a trade-mark for goods of American Trust manufacture?"

From the *Verdict* (New York).



MARCUS AURELIUS TO THEODORIUS: "That general must be ousted, or we'll fall without the breastworks."

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).



THE TWO TEDDY ROOSEVELTS.

HE WASN'T AFRAID

To be independent of Platt,
To punish canal thieves,
To refuse the Vice-Presidency.

BUT

He hasn't been independent of Platt,

He let the thieves get away,
And he's breaking his neck for the Vice-Presidency.

BECAUSE HE'S AFRAID OF PLATT.

From the *Verdict* (New York).



THE OPENING OF THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN.

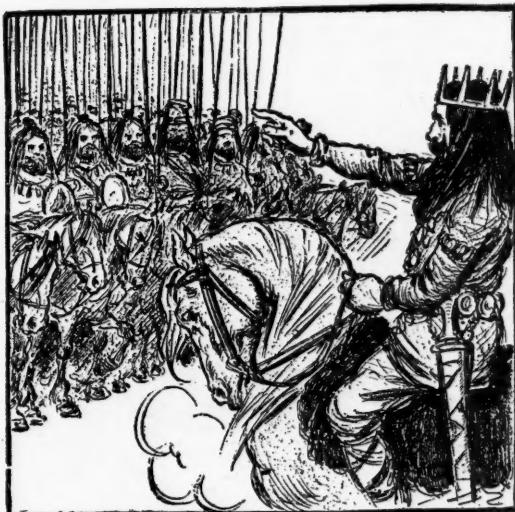
From the *World* (New York).



PORTRAIT OF HIS MAJESTY WILLIAM II. IN THE RÔLE OF CIVILIZER.—From *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris).



THE MAILED FIST OF THE EMPEROR AND ITS LONG THRUST.
From the *Amsterdammer*.



THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S SPEECH TO THE TROOPS RECALLS
ATTILA'S APPEAL TO HIS HUNS.
From *Floh* (Vienna).



THE TROUBLES OF A RULER OF AFRICA AND ASIA.—From the *Amsterdammer*.



INTERNATIONAL CARABINEERS WHO ALWAYS ARRIVE TOO LATE TO SAVE THEIR OWN PEOPLE.
From *La Silhouette* (Paris).



AN INDIAN VIEW OF THE SITUATION.
EUROPA (to Chinese Emperor): "If you can't put your foot down on him, I will!"—From the *Hindi Punch*.

GOING TO STAY A WHILE.—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).

The new diplomatic phases of the Chinese problem have interested cartoonists, during the past month, in America as well as in Europe. The association of the United States with the European powers in military and diplomatic adventures in the heart of the ancient Asiatic empire might well inspire the pencils of our clever cartoonists to their most telling work. The two reproductions on this page are from drawings made for the *Evening News* of Detroit by an artist whose humor and ability speak for themselves, and another of whose cartoons relating to American politics will be found on page 413. The baggage-wagon with the big trunks at the door of China indicates the purpose of the unwelcome foreign guests to spend the winter, at least. Since this cartoon was drawn, however, Uncle Sam has shown a very decided disposition to curtail his stay at Peking; and for this let us all be thankful. The smaller cartoon on this page relates to a matter about which not nearly enough has been said. At the capture of Tientsin by the allied armies, the soldiers of all nations were permitted to exercise the medieval military privilege of looting private property. By common consent, for a day or two the soldiery of the great nations of Christendom, sent to China to rescue missionaries and

uphold a higher civilization, became thieves and plunderers. Authentic descriptions of the looting of Tientsin are enough to provoke a unanimous moral indignation meeting in Sing Sing Prison. Uncle Sam had to join Europe in the march to Peking, but he will not be excusable if he stays very long in that sort of company. We believe it to be true that our soldiers took no leading part in the carnival of plunder at Tientsin.



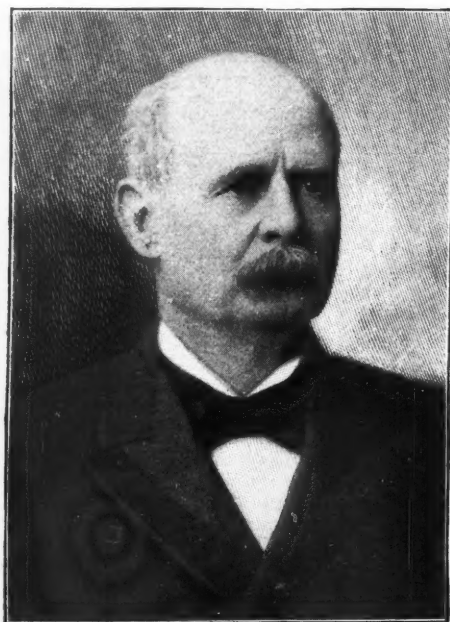
NEW IN THE BUSINESS.

UNCLE SAM: "I'm afraid some one will see me doing this."
THE OTHERS: "Don't get nervous, uncle; you'll get used to it if you keep on traveling with us."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).

MR. STEVENSON, THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

BY THE HON. JAMES S. EWING.
(Formerly United States Minister to Belgium.)

LAMARTINE said, "From the Gracchi to Mirabeau and Jefferson, the greatest friends of the people have sprung up from the ranks of the patricians."



HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, OF ILLINOIS.

(Democratic and Populist nominee for the Vice-Presidency.)

This is epigrammatic, but it is not true. The O'Conors, Garrisons, Lincolns, and Bryans have not sprung from the ranks of noble birth, but from the ranks of the people—"the plain people," as Mr. Lincoln called them. The man who aspires to be a leader of the people must know the people; must know their wants and needs; their modes of thinking and living; their aspirations and hopes; their economic and political conditions; and he must be in honest sympathy with them. This knowledge and sympathy is not acquired; it is largely inherited—the growth of generations, inbred into the warp and woof of a generous nature. Then the product is the genius of leadership. It is for this reason the

public love to know the ancestry, the youth, the private life, and the personal characteristics of a public man.

The line between eulogy and biography is not always clearly discernible. This sketch is neither biography nor eulogy, but an attempt to give to the public an estimate of the personality and political characteristics of the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson is the son of John Turner Stevenson and Eliza Ewing. The Stevensons and the Ewings were neighbors in Ireland back in the eighteenth century. Both families were Scotch Presbyterians. The two families emigrated to America at the same time, and were again neighbors in North Carolina. Here they were called Scotch-Irish. The Presbyterianism went without saying. In 1814 the Stevensons and Ewings again emigrated from Iredell County, North Carolina, to Christian County, Kentucky, and again became neighbors. Here the subject of this sketch was born, October 23, 1835.

When he was sixteen years old, he came with his parents to Bloomington, Ill. From that day I have known him in the most intimate relations of life: as a boy working in the field and in the mill; at school, at college; as a law student, as a lawyer, as a politician; as a son, brother, husband, and father; in private life and in high office; and I can say truthfully, that in all these relations, he has met and discharged their obligations bravely, faithfully, and fully.

Mr. Stevenson prepared himself for college at the Illinois Wesleyan University, then in its infancy, and completed his collegiate course at Center College, in Danville, Ky. While at this school he met the lady who afterwards became his wife, Miss Letitia Green, daughter of the president of the college. He was admitted to the bar in 1858, and commenced its practice in Woodford County, Illinois.

The first ten years of his professional life was spent in that judicial circuit. His ability and industry met almost immediate recognition. He was appointed master in chancery, which office he held for two years. He was then elected prosecuting attorney for the district, which office

he held until his removal to Bloomington, in 1868. During the Woodford County decade there were great lawyers in attendance upon that bar, among whom Robert G. Ingersoll, Judge Samuel L. Richmond, Mark Bangs, Judge John Burns, Hon. Clark Ingersoll, and Judge Thomas M. Shaw were prominent. Mr. Stevenson made lifelong friends of these men. His training there, both legal and political, was invaluable. In 1868 Mr. Stevenson formed a law partnership with the writer of this sketch, which continued until after his election as Vice-President of the United States in 1892—just a quarter of a century.

AS A LAWYER.

His law practice was extensive, both as to the number and the character of the suits tried. A country lawyer cannot select his practice. He cannot be a specialist. He must be prepared to try an ejectment suit one day, a chancery suit the next, a criminal case the next or the same day. In this rough-and-tumble law practice, at home or on the circuit, he must be familiar with all branches of the law, and prepared to try all kinds of cases. Mr. Stevenson's practice extended to the surrounding counties in central Illinois, to the United States district and circuit courts, and to the State appellate and supreme courts. The cases tried were not always of great importance, but many of them were, and the questions involved oftentimes new and intricate. Mr. Stevenson's success at the bar was marked. As an advocate he had few equals. He knew the strong and weak points in a case intuitively, prepared his cases, and tried them well. He was always courteous to the court and members of the bar, and had the respect and goodwill of every lawyer with or against whom he ever tried a case. Mr. Stevenson's knowledge of the law is philosophic; that is to say, he knows it as a system whose rules are founded on reason, and whose purpose is the conservation of property and personal rights. His legal education has largely inspired and colored his political convictions.

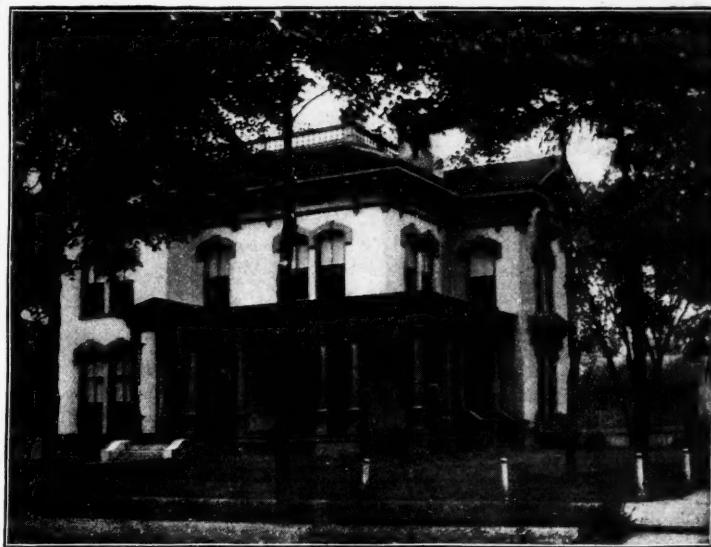
IN ILLINOIS POLITICS.

A Democrat by heredity, by disposition, by natural impulse, loyalty to his party has been a pleasure rather

than a duty. In early life the friend of Stephen A. Douglas, he canvassed the State for him in the great contest of 1860. He was an elector on the McClellan ticket in 1864. In 1874 he was elected to Congress in a district which had hitherto given 3,000 Republican majority. In this (the Forty-fourth) Congress, he served on the Committees on Territories and the District of Columbia. In 1876 he was defeated; his opponent being elected by a majority of 242, while the district gave Mr. Hayes, for President, a majority of 2,000. In 1878 he was again elected by a majority of 1,812. In his political contests he has always commanded much more than his party strength. The Republicans of McLean County have twice honored him with non-partisan receptions; and I doubt if any public man of this day has more warm personal friends in the ranks of his political opponents. This does not arise from timidity of opinion or mildness of expression. Few men have firmer political convictions, or in a greater degree the courage of them. But it is attributable, I think, rather to the fact that in all controversies the contest has risen to the high level of the question itself, while all personalities and coarseness were left in the valley below.

IN THE FIRST CLEVELAND ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Stevenson came into national prominence after his assumption of the duties of the office of first assistant postmaster-general under Mr. Cleveland's first administration. To understand why any particular importance should attach to



RESIDENCE OF HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, AT BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

a man holding such a position as this, we must revert to the circumstances and political conditions of the time. When Mr. Cleveland was elected in 1884, and the Democrats came into power after a political vacation of a quarter of a century, their joy knew no reasonable bounds. For almost a lifetime they had wandered in the wilderness of defeat. They had now passed through the valley of humiliation to the mountain of triumph. All along the line they were singing the song that Miriam sang. To them there was something miraculous in their deliverance. Towards Mr. Cleveland their feelings were of mingled gratitude, love, and admiration—gratitude, love, and admiration that were not exhausted by the sacrifices of three Presidential campaigns. To him they gave the gift of their splendid loyalty and more than Jewish faith. Then, in the very crowning of their rejoicing, came Mr. Cleveland's civil-service message, and there were whisperings that after all there was to be no fruitage to their victory; that the Republicans were to retain the offices—at least the smaller and more numerous ones; especially the post-offices, about the only "outward and visible sign" the people ever see of a federal government.

And so it came to pass, that the first assistant postmaster-general, who had the disbursement of 40,000 post-offices, became an object of the greatest anxiety. Who would he be? What could he do? Mr. Stevenson, I think, understood this feeling better than Mr. Cleveland, and realized what a political blunder it would be to disappoint the universal expectations of his party. And so, when the axe began to fall, the hearts of the Democrats went out to him until he became the heir to what was left of the gratitude, love, and faith not already given to Mr. Cleveland. The duties of this office brought him in personal contact and acquaintanceship with the public men of every State and of every Congressional district, Republicans as well as Democrats. He studied and came to know the political conditions of every State—the men who dominated their politics; the inside of the contests for supremacy; the men who could be trusted and

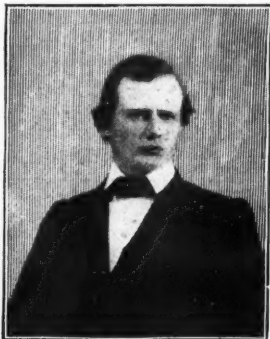
those who could not. Few public men know intimately so many of the political leaders of the day as Mr. Stevenson.

From the settlement of the slavery question to the present campaign, there have been no questions agitating the American people involving a sentiment appealing to the nation's conscience. Politics has been along the lines of economic questions. On these questions, Mr. Stevenson has usually been in accord with the position taken by his party.

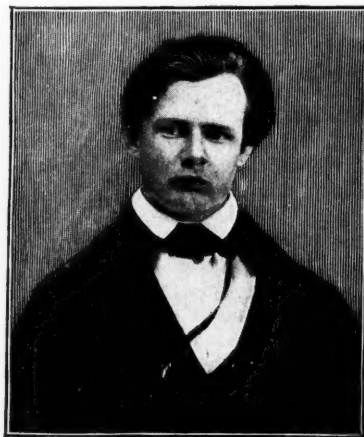
Believing that a "tariff for protection" is class legislation of the worst sort—that it is in the interest of the few at the expense of the many; that it is unequal and unconstitutional legislation; that its tendency is to enrich the few and impoverish the many; that it makes possible gigantic monopolies and trusts,—he has antagonized the doctrine at all times. Believing there was safety in economy, he has always advocated an economic expenditure of the people's money. Believing that submission even to wrong was better than civil war, he voted for and advocated, as a member of Congress, the law creating the electoral commission to determine the dangerous question of the Presidential succession in 1877.

POSITION ON THE SILVER QUESTION.

Mr. Stevenson is a bimetallist. He believes that gold and silver should both be used as cir-



MR. STEVENSON AT THIRTY
YEARS OF AGE.



MR. STEVENSON AT EIGHTEEN.

culating mediums, and that there should be no unjust discrimination for or against either, in the interest of any class or section. In the campaign of 1892 there was a singular unanimity of political opinion upon this subject. The platforms of the two great political parties were on this point almost identical. The letters of ac-

ceptance of Mr. Cleveland and General Harrison indicated no substantial difference of opinion, and Mr. Stevenson found himself in accord, not only with his own party in their platform adopted at Chicago, but with the platform adopted at Minneapolis, on the currency question.

The declaration of the Democratic party was :

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage ; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar, at all times, in the markets and in the payment of debt, and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with the redeemable in such coin.

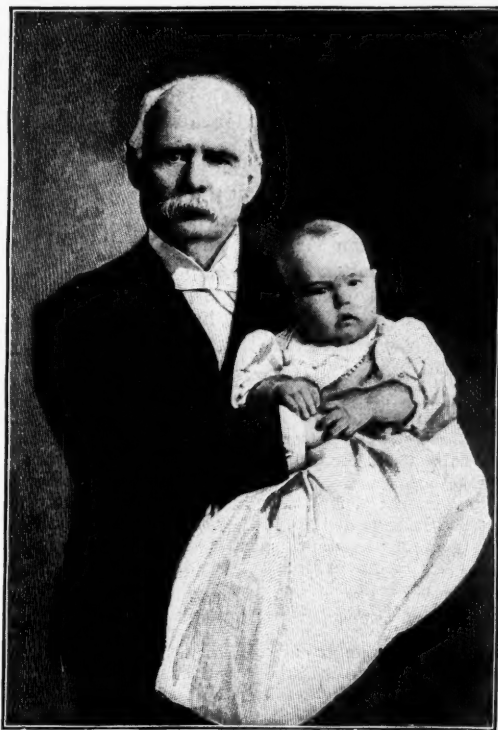
Mr. Stevenson, in his letter of acceptance, said :

To this plain and unequivocal declaration in favor of sound, honest money I subscribe without reservation or qualification. A safe circulating medium is absolutely essential to the protection of the business interests of our country, while to the wage-earner or the farmer it is all important that every dollar, whatever its form, that finds its way into his pocket shall be of equal, unquestioned, and universally exchangeable value and of equal purchasing power.

As a member of the commission appointed by President McKinley to secure an adjustment, through international agreement, of the currency differences, Mr. Stevenson gave his earnest, honest, and sincere efforts to accomplish what he believed was the real honest purpose of the commission, and was in complete sympathy with the movement.

AS VICE-PRESIDENT IN CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM.

Mr. Stevenson was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in 1892, and chairman of the Illinois delegation. He was an earnest advocate of Mr. Cleveland's nomination, and cast the forty-eight votes of Illinois for him. When Mr. Cleveland was finally nominated, after an exciting all-night session, the convention took a recess. Upon reassembling, the remaining business was the selection of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. By unanimous vote of the Illinois delegation, Mr. Stevenson's name was proposed. This, seconded by New York, secured his nomination over three distinguished competitors on the first ballot. As the candidate of his party he made speeches in most of the doubtful States. The relations existing between Mr. Cleveland and himself were of the most cordial character. They were in frequent consultation during the canvass, which resulted in an overwhelming



MR. STEVENSON AND GRANDCHILD.

Democratic victory—the greatest the party had known since the election of Pierce in 1852.

How well the duties of presiding officer of the Senate were discharged by Mr. Stevenson, is a matter of history. In only two instances were appeals taken from his decisions, in both of which his rulings were sustained by the Senate. Upon his retirement, Senators of all parties gave expression of their appreciation of the dignified and impartial manner in which he had discharged the delicate duties of the great office.

MR. STEVENSON'S VIEWS ON THE ISSUES OF 1900.

The nomination of Mr. Stevenson by the late Kansas City Convention was unsought. He was not in attendance upon the convention, and was in no sense a candidate.

Mr. Stevenson, like Mr. Hill, is "a Democrat" with all the term implies in its best sense. He has confidence in the ability of the people of the United States to govern themselves. He believes in the fullest liberty to the individual consistent with public safety. He believes that political power goes up from the people and not down to them ; that a republic cannot, from its very nature, be a colonizing power ; that free

men cannot hold other men in subjection. He believes that, if we do not want the inhabitants of any other country for fellow-citizens, we have no right to their lands; that popular sovereignty is not the subject of barter and sale. He is satisfied that the warnings and teachings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Lincoln are worth considering; that the Monroe Doctrine is worth preserving; that national honor is worth more than Oriental possessions, and that a republic is better than an empire.

Mr. Stevenson, in his speech of acceptance at Indianapolis, August 8, has expressed very clearly his views on this issue, as follows:

If ultimate statehood for these remote islands—and others yet to be conquered—be disclaimed, how then, are they to be held and governed? The only alternative is by force—by the power of the army and of the navy; and this is not for a day or for a year, but for time. What then becomes of the bedrock principle, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?" If they are to be held permanently as conquered provinces, it will not be only outside of the Constitution, but in direct antagonism to the letter and spirit of our Declaration of Independence. It is no less true now, than in the days of our Revolution, that "government by arbitrary power is still despotism." The attempt, then, either to give these people American citizenship or to hold them as subjects is, to us, fraught alike with peril. Should there not be an immediate declaration by our government of its purpose toward them? They should be given unmistakable assurance of independence. Protection by our government should not now be withheld against outside interference.

The same protection should be theirs heretofore extended to the little states of Central and South America. Under existing conditions, there should be no hesitation upon our part in giving them protection against the cupidity or aggressive spirit of other nations. All this, not to the end of subjugation or of conquest upon our part, but to that of the full enjoyment by them of liberty and of the ultimate establishment of stable government fashioned by their own hands. Against this policy stands imperialism. In American politics the word is new; fortunately, the policy is new. We are to-day becoming familiar with its meaning, with its forebodings; and the end is not yet. It means a permanent departure from all the traditions of the past, from the high ideals of the founders of the republic. It abrogates the holding of our great court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of the government, the Constitution but its form and letter.

Imperialism knows nothing of limitations of power. Its rule is outside the Constitution. It means the establishment, by the American republic, of the colonial

methods of European monarchies. It means the right to hold alien people as subjects. It enthrones force as the controlling agency in government. It means the empire.

As a necessary corollary to imperialism will come the immense standing army. The dead hand of militarism will be felt in the New World as it is in the Old. The strong arm of power will be substituted for the peaceable agencies which for more than a century have made our people contented and happy.

Mr. Stevenson is not an untried public servant. His large experience and knowledge of public affairs, his natural conservatism and patriotic desire for the good of the whole people, furnish a pledge that whatsoever influence the presiding officer of the Senate may have in shaping the policy of an administration will be in the direction of conserving those things that make for the good of the republic. He is the second in command of one of the armies now forming in battle line for the great contest of 1900.

A Presidential campaign, rightly considered, is a splendid spectacle. It is the returning into the hands of the people the political power which, for a season, has been intrusted to their servants. It is the public acknowledgment that all civic power is inherent in the people, whose rulers are servants and not masters. It emphasizes the difference between a republic and an empire. And, whatever the result, the victor takes his commission from a nation of free men, and the vanquished bow to the popular will.

In this present contest, all Democrats, all Independents, and many Republicans believe to be involved, issues vital to the welfare of the republic. The prizes are well worthy the contestants. On the one hand, expanding empire, world markets, multiplied trade, commercial supremacy, colonial possessions, Oriental conquests, and a place among the powers of the earth. On the other, the preservation of the republic pure and simple, keeping its foundations on the solid rock of absolute political and legal equality, continuing it a government without a king, or cast, or pride of birth; where no man is master, where there is no royal road to distinction, and where honest worth is better than coronet or patent of nobility.

However this battle royal may result, patriots of all parties will hope that out of it all may come a renewed patriotism, a firmer love of liberty, a more unselfish public service, and a more stainless public honor.

A GREAT LAWYER AND HIS CAREER:

A CHARACTER SKETCH OF THE LATE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

BY W. T. STEAD

THE death of Lord Russell of Killowen brought forcibly to mind the characteristics of one of the best-known men in the British empire. But to how many, I wonder, has the contemplation of the career of the Lord Chief Justice suggested the obvious remark that it is about time the public readjusted its conventional conception of the Irish character? In the last ten years, two great Irishmen occupied foremost positions in the arena of British law and British politics. No two men differed more absolutely than Charles Parnell and Charles Russell; but both of them agreed in this: that, although they were the foremost Irishmen of their time, neither of them had even the faintest resemblance to the typical Irishman of the English populace.

TWO NOTABLE IRISHMEN.

Charles Parnell, silent, austere, commanding the obedience rather than inspiring the love of his well-disciplined legions, was the very antithesis of the Irishman of popular fiction and of the stage. Cold in aspect, more reserved than the conventional Englishman of Continental caricature, without even a gleam of humor in his eye or a flash of wit upon his tongue, Mr. Parnell was nevertheless, as much as O'Connell ever had been, the uncrowned King of Ireland.

Charles Russell, a man genial, full of *bonhomie*, constantly mingling on equal terms with all sorts and conditions of men—a man who never moved his lips from the beaker of life until the vessel broke in his eager grasp—was quite as little of a stage Irishman as Mr. Parnell. He was not devoid of humor; but he was totally devoid of the rollicking carelessness with which the idle Celt confronts the world and its cares. The tributes paid to him at his death by the bench, the bar, and the press concur in attributing to him just those qualities on which the English particularly pride themselves. He stands before us the typical Chief Justice of England, a splendid figure of a man—stately, dignified, a worthy personification of Themis; a terror to evil-doers, a praise to them that do well. His magnificent power of concentration, his unwearying industry, his impatience of rhetoric, his direct thrust to the very



THE LATE LORD RUSSELL.

(From a photograph of the famous portrait by the American artist, J. S. Sargent, that appeared in this year's London Academy.)—*The Illustrated London News*.

heart of things, his intense practicality,—all the traits which the English most desire to see in their great judges were embodied in Charles Russell.

“SO ENGLISH, YOU KNOW.”

Yet he, the Lord Chief Justice of England, was not an Englishman. He was not even a Scotchman. He was an Irishman through and through—Irish in birth, Irish in descent, Irish in politics, and Irish in religion. But for thirty years Russell was almost as supreme in the English bar as Parnell was over the Nationalists of Ireland.

The conceit of race, which so often makes Englishmen disagreeable to their fellow-subjects,

is proof against all argument. It will be affected as little by the demonstrated superiority of Charles Russell at the bar as by that of another Irishman, Lord Roberts, in the field. But it may be hoped that the swelled-headedness of the Englishman may be somewhat abated by the fact that of late he has been as conspicuously outclassed both in peace and in war by the representatives of the race whose claim to the right to manage their own affairs he still contemptuously ignores.

HIS EARLY CAREER.

It was no small achievement for the Irish solicitor, who, at the prompting of the young and ambitious lady who afterwards became his wife, burned his boats in Ireland and came to England without friends or influence of any kind, to push his way in a strange land. Born at Newry in 1832, when eighteen years old he gained the prize for an essay on "The Age We Live In: Its Tendencies and Its Exigencies." He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and then articulated as attorney's clerk in Belfast. He soon afterwards decided to go to London and try his fortune. While still studying law and making a living by desultory journalism, he married, in 1858, Miss Mulholland—a step which had everything to do with his success and happiness in life.

Long after he had attained the summit of his career, Lord Russell contributed to a London magazine a paper on "The Bar as a Profession," in which he gave the world the benefit of his wide and varied experience.

HIS STUDIES FOR THE BAR.

He advised every one who aspired to the bar to regard a career in Parliament and on the bench as the legitimate outcome of the success they set out to gain. "All who can ought to have University training and a University degree; and those who are not able to obtain these advantages will find the want of them, in a greater or less degree, throughout their public lives."

After leaving the University, a year spent in a solicitor's office is almost indispensable and most useful. Of his own studies he said:

One special subject in reading for the bar I would name—because, in my experience, I have found it invaluable; and that is a study of the *Corpus Juris*, or the body of the Civil Law. I had the signal advantage of being a student in the days when the late Sir Henry Maine was professor of civil law to the Inns of Court; and under him, as in University classrooms, we read no inconsiderable part of the civil law. After all, a great body of our law finds its source in the Roman law; and in the *Corpus Juris* law is systematized in a way for which our English law has no parallel. Its reading

gives to the attentive student a knowledge and a grasp of principle, hardly otherwise attainable, which he will always find useful throughout his life.

What, he asks, are the considerations which should determine the choice of the bar as a profession? He replies—a love of the profession in the first place, and ample physical health and energy in the second:

Its pursuit involves long hours of close confinement, often under unhealthy conditions; and the instances of long-continued success at the bar, and of lengthened usefulness on the bench, in the case of men of weak physique, are few and far between.

THE SECRET OF SUCCESS IN THE LAW.

The quality which most of all commands success at the bar is clear-headed common sense:

I place this far above grace of imagination, humor, subtlety; even commanding power of expression, although these have their due value. This is essentially a business, a practical age; eloquence in its proper place always commands a high premium, but the occasions for its use do not occur every day; and the taste of this age, like the taste for dry rather than for sweet champagne, is not for florid declamation, but for clear, terse, pointed, and practical speech. Common sense and clear-headedness must be the foundation; and upon these may safely be reared a superstructure where imagination and eloquence may fitly play their part. In fine, business qualities, added to competent legal knowledge, form the best foundation of an enduring legal fame.

Ability to wait he also included in the conditions of success. He had not long to wait. He was called to the bar in Lincoln's Inn. From 1859 to 1865 he led the life of a struggling barrister, often briefless, who utilized his leisure in studying law. He went down to Liverpool and began to build up a practice in the Northern Circuit. There is a pretty legend, which as Lord Russell told it is true enough, but which has been twisted in the telling of it so as to make it quite untrue. Here is the correct version:

I myself recollect, when I was a struggling junior of four years' standing on the Northern Circuit, dining in frugal fashion as the guest of two able young men of my own age, members of my circuit, in one of our assize towns. They were almost in the depths of despair, and one of them was seriously considering the question of migration to the Straits Settlements; the other was thinking of going to the Indian bar. Where are they now? One of them, as I write, Lord Herschell, has held twice the highest judicial office in the land; the other, Mr. Gully, became the leader of his circuit, and is now Speaker of the House of Commons.

RAPID ADVANCEMENT.

It is a very pretty story, but in the newspapers of last month it was quoted as if Lord Russell himself had been in the depths of despair. That this could not be true is evident from Lord

Russell's own story of his early earnings. Speaking to an interviewer from *Cassell's Saturday Journal*, who asked him how he was able to push his way at the beginning, he replied :

By deviling for men in good practice. By the way, the fee for my first consultation I never got paid. It was a knotty point connected with a will made before the Statute of Wills—a matter upon which I should find some difficulty in expressing an opinion now ; and, I fancy, the man who came to me with it made a chance hit. I had just come out first in the certificate list of the year, and he took me just because I stood first, and he didn't mean to pay for it. However, it led to a valuable introduction—Mr. Yates, of Liverpool, and the late Mr. Aspinall, recorder of Liverpool—a very able man, for whom I did a great deal. My first year I made 240 guineas, and in each of the two succeeding years I doubled my income ; that is to say, the second year I made 480 guineas, and the third year just about 1,000.

A "struggling junior" who is making £1,000 a year in his third year can hardly be regarded as in such a parlous case as to justify his accompanying Herschell and Gully to the "depths of despair."

HIS FIRST HIT.

It was four years before the alleged conversation in the North Country inn that he first made his mark at the Guildhall, when before Mr. Justice Compton he persisted in defending a client after his leader, Mr. Edwin James, had thrown up his brief. "Don't you know, sir, that your leader has left the court?" "I do," said Russell ; "but there are some points which I think it my duty to lay before the jury." "Oh ! go on," said the judge. "What is your name?" "Charles Russell," said the young barrister, quietly, and proceeded with his speech. He did not win his case, but he extorted from the judge a confession in his charge to the jury that he had thought Mr. Russell at first guilty of great impertinence in putting himself forward to address the jury after his leader had abandoned the case, but that he had entirely justified himself by his ability and skill.

He was not as overwhelmed with work at first, no doubt, as he was afterwards. He referred in his last speech in London to the time when he had ample leisure for the study of the fine arts, and utilized it by a punctual attendance at the theater. In those early days he made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Irving, and declared that he preferred him in the Jeremy Diddler parts of forty years ago to the rôles which have made the Lyceum famous.

IN PARLIAMENT.

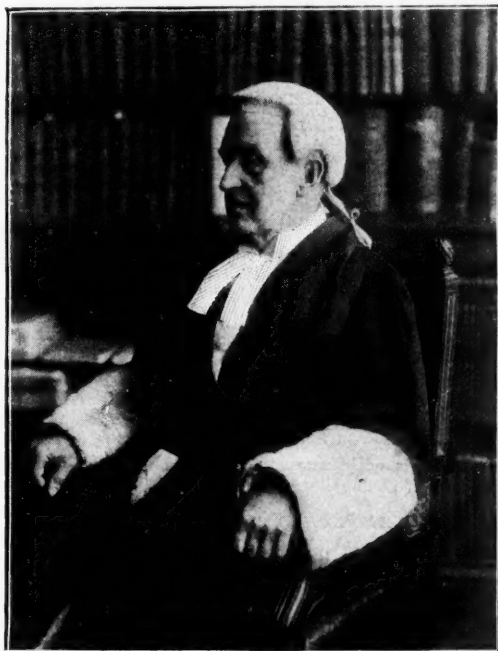
When Mr. Russell was thirty-six, he attempted to enter Parliament as Liberal candidate for the Irish borough of Dundalk. He was defeated.

In 1874 he renewed the attempt, and was again defeated. It was not till 1880 that a third effort landed him in the House of Commons. He had declined a county court judgeship in 1872, and he refused a puisne judgeship which was offered him in 1882. His mind was set on higher things.

His first notable political success was not parliamentary, but journalistic. In the autumn of 1880 he contributed to the *Daily Telegraph* a series of letters on the "Land Question in Ireland," which did much to facilitate the amendment of the Land Act in the following year. I well remember the joy that reigned in the *Pall Mall Gazette* office in Northumberland Street when "Charles Russell" began writing in the *Daily Telegraph* in support of the cause of which, up to that time, Mr. Morley had been the most distinguished journalistic advocate. Before the publication of these letters, Russell's contributions to the press had been chiefly anonymous.

HIS ARTICLES IN THE MAGAZINES.

When at Liverpool, he had published a small legal book on "The Court of Passage ;" but that and his "Letters from Ireland" remain his only contribution to the world of books. In his late years he contributed occasionally to the English



LORD RUSSELL.

(From a very recent photograph.)

and American magazines. In September, 1894, he published, in the *North American Review*, an eloquent tribute to his predecessor in the lord chief justiceship, Lord Coleridge. He published another article—the report of an address, I believe—on “International Arbitration” in the same periodical. In the *Strand* of April, 1896, he wrote on “The Bar as a Profession,” from which I have already quoted. To the *Irish Monthly* he contributed his reminiscences of John Mitchel, of '48. As a boy, Russell had once traveled from the north of Ireland to Dublin with the famous revolutionary leader, whose combination of the journalist and politician inspired him with admiration. He wrote :

I still think him the most brilliant journalistic writer I have ever known. Occasionally in a sentence he could condense a world of argument. For instance, “The Pope may be Anti-Christ, but, Orangemen of the North, he serves no ejections in Ulster.”

It was with the spirit of Mitchel, and with much of his literary capacity, that Russell descanted in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* upon the wrongs of the Irish tenant.

Returning to Westminster, he found himself the most conspicuous Irish Liberal in the House of Commons. He opposed Mr. Forster's coercion bill, and as warmly supported Mr. Gladstone's land bill; but as he was not a Parnellite, his position as M.P. for Dundalk was somewhat precarious.

HIS REPUTATION AT THE BAR.

Mr. Justice Wills, after his death, bore witness that with all the power which the late lord chief justice had wielded at the bar and on the bench he never used it tyrannously. He said :

He was a most faithful colleague and most loyal to those who had to act with him. His desire to do right was beyond all praise, and if he was at times a little impatient, either with his colleagues or with his friends at the bar, it was from his extreme quickness of comprehension; and if he ever thought he had hurt anybody in that way, there was nobody so quick and so candid to own it or to regret anything of that sort, and so manly and considerate in making everything right again. There never was any real friction, either between himself and his colleagues or between himself and the members of the bar.

HIS METHOD WITH JURIES.

As a counsel he was often eloquent, but his chief strength lay in the directness and lucidity of his exposition :

Sir Charles Russell (said an interviewer) is of opinion that mere eloquence is of less importance than is commonly supposed. There are cases in which eloquent advocacy has its value; but he is inclined to think that

the importance and the power of it are very much overrated. It is a mistake, in his judgment, to suppose that juries are very easily dazzled by oratorical fireworks. He has a great respect for juries, and he declares his emphatic belief that upon an average the ability of juries to arrive at sound judgments upon facts before them (apart from cases in which strong prejudices may exist) is quite as high as that of judges, and that it is not so easy to throw dust in their eyes as is often assumed. They don't want oratorical flourishing; they want facts put before them in a clear, telling, forcible way; and the power of thus putting facts, Sir Charles Russell believes, is of much greater importance than the ability to make a fine speech.

“And here, by the way, I may give you a very simple rule, which is really a great secret of success, in making a jury grasp the facts of your case. However intricate and complicated it may be, if you will just lay your facts before the jury in the order of their dates, you will find it will all become plain sailing.”

“But, after all,” declared Sir Charles Russell (and I thought it showed very strikingly the clear-headed, impartial judgment of the man), “far less depends on counsel than the public generally suppose. Verdicts generally go by the weight of evidence; and I can hardly recall a single case of any importance in which the result would have been different if other men had been engaged in it.”

“THOUGHTS, THOUGHTS, THOUGHTS.”

Quite recently, Lord Russell delivered himself of his own judgment on the matter in the following significant sentences :

For his own part, the person who made the least impression upon him was the person who talked the most glibly. He infinitely preferred, so far as it had an effect upon his mind, to listen to a man who first stammered and hesitated for the choice of a particular word to express the particular shade of meaning which he desired to express, but who showed that thought was accompanying his attempted utterance. He would rather hear such a man than one who, never pausing for a word, gave the idea that he was washed away before the flood of his own eloquence. What was wanted was not words, words, words, but thoughts, thoughts, thoughts. A well-thought-out speech packed with information and packed with thought well digested was worth a dozen speeches in which there was a cloud of words, but in which thought bore about the same proportion to the volume of words as in the celebrated classic case the bread bore to the quantity of sack. Thought was the first essential; and when they had achieved that position, then he thought facility of speech was a matter of comparative easy acquirement.

On another occasion, he said :

I always had a high opinion of the force of brevity in advocacy. Since I became a judge, I have had to listen. My faith in brevity is greater than it ever was before.

Nevertheless, when Lord Russell pleaded before the Parnell Commission, he spoke six days on end, and the report of his speech occupies 600 printed pages.

THE PIGOTT EXPOSURE.

During the Pigott exposure, it was my good fortune to meet Lord Russell almost daily. I sat on the bench immediately in front of him, Mr. Parnell sitting on my right hand, and Mr. Walter, of the *Times*, on my left. I had a close personal interest in the affair, for Mr. Houston had tried to plant the forgeries upon me. It was, therefore, with no ordinary feeling that I heard the great advocate demolish the fabric of falsehood and forgery, constructed of such flimsy materials by Pigott, behind which the *Times* and the whole Unionist party had taken shelter for months past.

It was a thrilling moment when Sir Charles Russell, standing up to begin his cross-examination, startled every one by handing Pigott a piece of paper, saying: "Take that:"

Pigott took it (says Mr. Lucy)—gazing the while at Sir Charles in blank bewilderment. Everybody in court glanced at every other. "He has him," a barrister whispered, turning round to me. "Write down 'liveliness,' 'likelihood,' your own name, 'proselytism,' 'Patrick Egan' and his initials, and 'hesitancy.'" Which Pigott did, smiling the while, foolishly, and with a flushed face. It will be remembered that in one of the forged letters Pigott had spelled the last word "hesitency."

It was not till the next day that the result of this spelling-bee exercise was made known. Pigott had repeated the misspelling, and had written "hesitancy" with an "e." There was a feeling of surprise and of doubt in the court—a murmur of curiosity and wonderment as we watched the doomed wretch laboriously supply the evidence of his own identity with the forger. But there was a shade of disappointment visible when, ignoring the paper in which Pigott had written the fatal word, the great advocate proceeded with his cross-examination. I described it edition after edition in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, being warned every now and then that my license of critical reporting would inevitably lead to my being committed for contempt of court. The game, however, was up. Pigott was in the toils. Another day or two and the poor wretch was to flee the country and end his existence by a pistol-shot at Madrid. Of this we knew nothing; but the sympathetic heart of at least one eminent onlooker winced and shuddered as the merciless unstripping of the masks of a lifetime went on hour after hour. "It is like the Day of Judgment!" she cried. "How terrible to be compelled to confront the gaze of the world with all his lies in his right hand!"

His cross-examination was ruthless, searching, and masterly. But it must be admitted that Pigott was easy game, he had given himself

away so completely. Ample time and opportunity had been afforded the defense to prepare all the traps and pitfalls into which the wretched victim was flung naked and helpless. Sir Charles Russell reveled in the opportunity. Speaking years afterwards, he said:

Cross-examination rarely hurts a really honest witness. People think that anything can be done by cross-examination; but, as a matter of fact, if a witness is honest, it can do very little. Speaking for myself, I can say that I never rise to cross-examine a witness with any heart or interest unless, from something I know of him from my brief or from his demeanor in the box, I have reason to believe that he is not telling the truth.

He rose to examine Pigott with plenty of heart and interest, for he knew he was confronted with the original liar upon whose forgeries the *Times* had traded for years.

POLITICS AND PLAY.

The writer of his obituary notice in the *Times* well says:

Each of his cases was for him, whatever might be the verdict, a victory. His courage, his thoroughness, his strenuous devotion to his client, his relentless cross-examination, his mastery of details, his sound sense, were too conspicuous to be ignored; one rival after another was caught up and then passed; and for nearly twenty years the history of the common-law bar was his history. In almost every case of magnitude he was engaged; and in libel actions he was indispensable.

What was more remarkable was that, during most of the years when he was crowded with briefs and overwhelmed with legal work, he was constantly busy in the House of Commons and on the platform. Russell would go anywhere to speak in support of his principles or of his party. After long days spent in court and laborious hours passed in consultations, he would turn up at an out-of-the-way London meeting and discourse for an hour on the party questions of the day. No political hack was more ready to rush off to any platform than the leader of the English Bar. He seemed to be made of iron. He crowded two busy lives into one, and then added a third of play as a corrective to the excess of the other two. He made money rapidly and squandered it as quickly. No man made more money at the bar; very few had less of it available for subscriptions and public munificence. He loved the green table and the green turf; and, although he played well and had an Irishman's good eye for a horse, you heard more of his debts than of his savings. How he managed to get through all his work and to combine it with his play, only those can understand who have learned how much rest is to be found in complete change of occupation. At 5 o'clock he shut the door of his mind upon his

briefs—put it to sleep, so to speak; and then, waking up the section of his mind that attended to politics, he began quite fresh to attend to his parliamentary duties. His wife spared him all domestic or business worries. She was his factotum, and she has been appointed his sole executrix.

HIS POWER OF CONCENTRATION.

The great secret of his success was in his faculty of concentration. What his hand found to do, he did with all his might. His biographer in the *Times* says:

One, and perhaps the chief, of the secrets of his success was the earnestness with which he plunged into every case, trivial or not. "What a fool I am; knocking myself to pieces about a twopenny-halfpenny dispute!" he was heard to say, as he flung his wig on the robing-room table and threw himself exhausted into a chair. And he returned to court to repeat, do what he would, the same folly in regard to his next case, perhaps equally trumpery.

He wore himself out before his time, perhaps. But he lived to be sixty-eight, and he died of an internal complaint which had no apparent connection with excessive mental strain.

ON THE BENCH.

Of his career as a judge, it is unnecessary to speak. His praises are in every mouth. He was a splendid example of that unflinching integrity which he claimed as the most important element in the character of a judge. He was impatient of the law's delays, and rode roughshod over many time-honored traditions which impeded the dispatch of business. He was an honest man, and his last crusade was an attempt to extirpate the practice of giving secret commissions which is eating like dry-rot into our commercial integrity. He made a famous protest on behalf of integrity in business, even in the business of the financier and company promoter, when he welcomed the present lord mayor to the law courts. Everywhere, on the bench and off the bench, he was punctual in the discharge of duty and prompt to respond to all appeals for justice. There have been few more characteristic stories told of him than that of his sermon on punctuality to the London Irish Football Club:

In October, 1898, when that club was matched to play Hammersmith Club, Lord Russell was invited, and consented to kick off the ball. On arriving punctually at the hour appointed, he found that some of the members of the London Irish team were not on the ground. He waited patiently for some ten or fifteen minutes, until all the players were assembled, and then called up Mr. Dyas, the captain of the London Irish, and delivered the following homily: "Captain Dyas and members of the London Irish Football Club: I desire to point out to

you that one of your cardinal rules in life should be punctuality. Unless you study that rule, whether in business or play, you will never be successful men; and I hope that you will take to heart the lesson I am now reading you." The lord chief justice, with the utmost gravity, then proceeded to kick off the ball.

There was a wonderfully imperturbable expression of utmost gravity about his massive and impressive features. He was as witty as he was wise, and the papers have been printing some of his *bon-mots*; but they cannot recall the genial smile and hearty simplicity which characterized the man.

A HOME-RULE PERORATION.

Of his oratory not much will survive. But two passages may be quoted as specimens of his different styles. The first is the peroration with which he concluded his last speech on the third reading of the Home-Rule Bill of 1893. He said:

This bill may fail to-day; but there is not a man opposite who does not believe in his heart of hearts that it must ultimately pass. . . . I do not believe this bill will bring the millennium to Ireland. Much will depend on the Irish people themselves—on their courage, resolution, and firmness; on their grasp of the great and noble duties that devolve upon them in the new era opening for their country, to teach all classes to use that priceless gift of self-government, not for a section, but for the whole community. The claim of Ireland to self-government has survived many calamities. It has survived emigration, which drained the life-blood of the country; it has survived coercion in all its hateful moods and tenses; it has survived the mistakes of its friends. It is vain to hope that, espoused by a great historic party, the great instrument of popular reform in the past, it will die now; and grave is the responsibility of the party and the men who would delay this settlement, who would by that delay rob it of all its grace, and relegate it to that long category of measures dealing with Ireland which were yielded from necessity and not from a willing sense of justice.

A LAW SCHOOL FOR LONDON.

The other passage is that with which he closed his great plea for the reform of our system of legal education. In this he speaks as a lawyer and as a Londoner, in a manner worthy of his profession and of the great city in which he spent so much of his life:

Never at any time, in any state, has there existed such a conjunction of circumstances as marks London preëminently to-day as the seat of a great school of law. We are here at the very heart of things, where the pulse of dominion beats strongest, with a population larger than that of many kingdoms—a great center of commerce, of art, and of literature, with countless libraries, the rich depository of ancient records, and the seat at once of the higher judiciary, of Parliament, and of the sovereign. From this point is governed the greatest empire the world has known. From our midst go forth to the uttermost ends of the earth not merely those who



LORD RUSSELL.

(From a drawing from life, in court, by Paul Renouard.)
The Graphic (London).

symbolize the majesty of power, but, happily, with them those who represent the majesty of law—law, without which power is but tyranny. It has been well and truly said that there is hardly any system of civilized law which does not govern the legal relations of the Queen's subjects in some portion of the empire. In parts of Canada French law, older than the First Empire, modified by modern codification, prevails—in other parts, the English system; in Australia, English law modified by home legislation in those self-governing communities; in parts of Africa, Roman law with Dutch modifications; in the West Indian colonies, Spanish law modified by local customs; in India, now the Hindoo, now the Mohammedan law, tempered by local custom and by local legislation. Surely these facts suggest great possibilities and great responsibilities. Is it an idle dream to hope that, even in our day and generation, there may here arise a great school of law worthy of our time—worthy of one of the first and noblest of human sciences—to which, attracted by the fame of its teaching, students from all parts of the world may flock, and from which shall go forth men to practise, to teach, and to administer the law with a true and high ideal of the dignity of their mission?

In this passage Lord Russell struck a higher note than is usually found in his oratory. He was no highfalutin imperialist; but no man of his imagination could fail to be touched by the position of London—the city on the Thames whose goings out are to the ends of the earth.

ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATOR.

He was stoutly opposed to Anglo-Saxondom, which ignored the Irish, Scotch, etc., and protested vehemently against Lady Randolph Churchill's *Anglo-Saxon*, as involving a recognition of the hated fallacy that all English-speaking men were Anglo-Saxon. But he was a good English-speaking man, and one of the few notable Englishmen who are as well known in America as in Britain. He took a leading part in two great international arbitrations—as counsel in the Bering Sea dispute and as arbitrator in the Venezuelan affair. A few months since I met one who had shared with him the responsibilities of adjudicating that complicated dispute. I asked him how he got on with Lord Russell. "He is a very able man," he said, "but very vehement, and sometimes even more than vehement. We had great trouble to arrive at a unanimous award. He was very difficult. On one occasion he slammed to the atlas in a temper, and we almost despaired of bringing him round. But in the end his sense of justice and his great common sense triumphed."

HIS DEVOTION TO ARBITRATION.

He would probably have been nominated as one of the picked arbitrators whose names will have to be placed on the roster of the International Tribunal constituted by the Hague Convention. He was a warm supporter of the principle of international arbitration, and was the only judge, if I remember aright, who came forward and addressed a public meeting in support of the peace crusade. He was much taken with M. de Nelidoff's suggestion of borrowing the institution of seconds from the practice of the duello as a means of averting war. His address to the American Bar Association at Saratoga was a noble and eloquent plea for the establishment of peace by mediation and arbitration as the necessary crown of the work of civilization. He said:

What, indeed, is true civilization? By its fruit you shall know it. It is not dominion, wealth, material luxury—nay, not even a great literature and education widespread, good though these things be. Civilization is not a veneer; it must penetrate to the very heart and core of societies of men. Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for woman, the frank recognition of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or color or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world; the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of Justice. Civilization in that, its true, its highest sense, must make for Peace.

Lord Russell, it is noted with some satisfaction, was the first Roman Catholic who held the post of chief justice since the Reformation. Statutory disabilities barred the way to the woolsack. A Papist can be a prime minister, but he cannot be lord chancellor. But even the bitterest bigot of Orange Belfast would in vain endeavor to discover in the career of Lord Russell, either on the bench or at the bar, any instance in which the religious faith of the lord chief justice deflected his sense of justice, or had results detrimental to the interests of Britain or of Protestantism.

The papers have teemed with *ana* about Lord Russell. Journalistic chronicles have told us about his unique collection of snuffboxes: and they have also told us where he bought the favorite mixture, how much he paid for it, and the exact number of pounds he consumed every month.* He was fond of riding, and attributed much of his robust health to the hour which he was wont to spend on horseback before he went into court.

TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY.

His fellows on the bench and his former comrades at the bar have vied with each other in paying tribute to the sterling qualities of Lord Russell. Mr. Justice Wright acclaimed him not only as the greatest advocate of our time, but "as a worthy successor of a great line of chief justices of this country—a man of singular force, power, and eloquence, combined with single-minded devotion to duty and the public good. He was, in private as in public life, the kindest and most tolerant of men." On the Northern Circuit, said Mr. Justice Kennedy, "a kinder friend, a more generous opponent, and a brighter example of what a leader should be will not be found among those who figure in the records of that circuit." Mr. Justice Darling, who had fought two hotly contested political elections with him when he was Sir Charles Russell, member for South Hackney, said:

In those contests, I have over and over again recognized how magnanimous an opponent he was. Nobody knew better than himself that he was dealing with a much younger and with a far weaker man, but he never took any advantage of that fact; but, on the other hand, he treated me with a magnanimity which could not be surpassed.

* His favorite brand of snuff was the "Bureau Mixture," obtained from a tobacconist in Haymarket for many years. He consumed a quarter of a pound weekly, and never went anywhere without his pungent stimulant. His clerks took particular care to see that their master was always supplied. The "Bureau Mixture" cost 12s. per pound, and was almost black in color.—*Daily Express*.

These tributes from the bench were warmly echoed from the bar. Sir E. Clarke, the only man left among our advocates with whom he may be compared, said:

Lord Russell was for years my companion and my rival at the bar, sometimes my antagonist, and always my friend. When Charles Russell was at the bar we were all very proud of him. He was a great advocate, an intrepid advocate, sparing nothing to serve his client—a man of great energy, of inexhaustible industry, a brilliant speaker, and one whose oratory was informed and heightened by literary associations. And when he passed from our ranks and became a judge, we were in no way surprised to find that he displayed the even greater qualities required of a judge. There was still the same energy, the same intrepid desire that justice should be done; and he had in him all the qualities of a great judge. His death is a national loss.

HIS HATRED OF THE WAR.

Lord Russell's closing years were darkened by the shadow of national crime which has fallen athwart our unhappy land. He was not merely lord chief justice in name; there was in him, from his boyhood, an ineradicable love of justice—especially of national justice. And it was to him a matter of deep grief and ill-repressed indignation that the country in which he was the foremost representative of justice should have become, in the eyes of all men, the most conspicuous representative of injustice. His high office sealed his lips. He could not publicly denounce the infamy of the pretexes by which a sophisticated press had glozed over the essential villainy of the war now being waged in South Africa. But to those to whom he could speak without the reserve imposed by his high station, he expressed himself with a passion of noble wrath against a shameless crime in terms which bore eloquent testimony at once to his generous enthusiasm and his unerring judgment.

Lord Russell died with the praises of all men surrounding his memory. Bramwell Booth, the representative of the strictest sect of the Puritan religion, wrote me in heartfelt sorrow expressing his conviction that the lord chief justice, who had always been a good friend of the Salvation Army, despite all that conflicted with their notions, was a deeply religious man, who sincerely endeavored to do the right. And on the day after his death, Cardinal Vaughan sent round to his clergy the following letter:

"The prayers of the clergy and of the faithful are earnestly requested for the repose of the soul of Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, a faithful son of the Church, who, after a life of distinguished public service, died yesterday, fortified by the Holy Sacraments.

Requiescat in pace.

THE PRACTICAL BRYAN POLICY FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

BY EDWARD M. SHEPARD.

WHAT could a President Bryan practically do with the Philippines different from what President McKinley is now doing and proposes to do? Concede, it is said, to the Democratic candidate firmness of will, courage, and a complete loyalty to the promises upon which he has asked the suffrages of the American people; concede that his theoretical propositions about government by consent of the governed are true,—still, how could he practically change the present policy of the United States? Anti-imperialist criticism is said by the President, in his letter of acceptance, to be a matter of “phrase-making,” by which he means theoretical, impractical, or insincere talk.

To this I now reply that the McKinley programme and the Bryan programme with respect to the Philippines are, in practice as well as in theory, far different, and would lead to diametrically opposite results. For, when all political philosophy and splendid generalizations on one side or the other are brushed aside, this concrete thing remains: That President McKinley proposes, with the military force of the United States, to complete the conquest of these Asiatic islands, and in future to hold their inhabitants as subjects, with no rights except such as may be granted them by the United States, and with no share, therefore, as matter of right, in the Constitution of the United States. So much is clear; and another thing is equally clear: That Mr. Bryan proposes a reversal of the policy of conquest; that, if elected, he will make no further effort to conquer the islands, unless Congress shall constrain him by resolution or act passed over his veto,—a contingency obviously not worth consideration, for it implies that, though successful at the polls, Mr. Bryan will not have the support of one-third of either house of Congress; that the American troops will, with his approval, remain for no other purpose than to promote the properly expressed views of the Filipino people with respect to their islands; that the Filipinos will be freely permitted, and, so far as may be, aided by American means, to create government in place of that which we have destroyed or suppressed; that Filipino independence will be recognized as soon as there shall appear any government sufficient for recognition which

fairly represents the 5,000,000 of civilized natives; that a treaty will then be negotiated, under which the United States will secure proper commercial rights and reasonable guarantees (that is to say, guarantees which are reasonable in view of the distressed condition of the Filipino people) for the protection of American and other foreign rights; and that the port of Manila will be retained by us and conceded by the treaty. Manila is largely European in population and interest; it was conquered from Spain by the United States, and has since remained in its possession; it was never in possession of the Filipinos; it is a proper naval and coaling station; and it is necessary to any protectorate by the United States:

There are difficulties, many difficulties, of detail in this programme, and more of them than there were in 1898. But it has the supreme advantage of being in accord with the American theory of government and the sound and permanent interest of the United States and of its people; and its difficulties, practical as well as theoretical, are vastly less than the difficulties of continuing the present programme. I shall not here argue (I have elsewhere argued) our general obligation, which was, from 1776 to 1898, conceded in our republic *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*, to hold to government by consent of the governed. I am instructed to here assume that that rule is, to the uttermost practical, to be applied to the Philippine problem. I concede that we cannot ignore existing conditions. Whatever has been done since the initial blunder, whether right or wrong,—no matter how wrong, no matter how right,—is to-day a factor in the problem. It is clear enough that, except as such factors have changed the problem, we should now do what we should have done at the time the Paris Treaty was negotiated, in 1898. To that time we must, therefore, recur. Whatever principles of right and rules of national policy it was then our duty to observe, we must now observe so far as we are able. We may limit or modify those principles and rules only as later events now constrain us, and only when there is less danger to our national welfare in surrender to that constraint than in violation of the fundamental policy of our Government *vis civilization*.

For practical answer to the practical question, it is thus necessary to first clearly perceive what we should have done at the outset. What, then, was the situation when the American and Spanish commissioners were, two years ago, welcomed by the French president in 1898? We were at war with Spain for the sole avowed purpose of giving independence to Cuba. As an incident of the war our fleet had destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila. We were in possession of that port, really conquered by our own force, although we had welcomed Filipino coöperation. The civilized natives, with Aguinaldo at their head, were generally in practical control of the rest of the archipelago—not a final control, perfect in detail, but one at least equal to that which Spain had enjoyed, and which, by our treaty with Spain, we conceded to have been sufficient for political sovereignty. The Spanish troops, wherever they were stationed, were under siege, so that Spanish control was practically succeeded by native control. We, at least, cannot for a moment dispute the fact of the control, since it has cost us long campaigns and bloody battles with large armies to effect an incomplete destruction of it. As to all this there is no dispute and can be none.

Not only were the Filipinos themselves in practical possession, but they had established a government which was, for the time, the only *de facto* government, and which was, at least for the time, successful in the maintenance of order. As to this also there is no dispute or even semblance of dispute. Mr. Barrett, our late minister to Siam, who is a duly authorized and the most active, if not the principal, spokesman of the administration, in his address at Shanghai delivered on January 12, 1899, after his visit to Luzon, said of the Filipino government that it had "practically been administering the affairs of that great island (Luzon) since the American occupation of Manila;" that it was "certainly better than the former (Spanish) administration;" that it included a "popularly formed cabinet and congress;" that their members "in appearance and manners would compare favorably with Japanese statesmen;" that Aguinaldo had among his advisers "men of acknowledged ability as international lawyers, while his supporters include most of the prominent educated and wealthy natives;" and that all these "*prove possibilities of self-government.*"

Something further is conceded by every report, official or unofficial, which Americans bring us of the Philippines. The civilized natives were in large majority, Professor Worcester says—more than five out of eight millions. Their civilization, though inferior to the European stand-

ard, was quite equal to that of many peoples successful in maintaining independence and the forms, at least, of international respect. The American admiral's testimony is familiar to every one—that they "are far superior in their intelligence and more *capable of self-government* than the natives of Cuba." In his work on the Philippine Islands published by Professor Worcester, a member of both the Philippine commissions, we are told (p. 475):

The important questions which intimately concern the future of the Philippine Islands result from the character of the *five millions of civilized natives* and the conditions existing in the regions which they now inhabit. . . . I think that *the civilized natives show sufficient homogeneity to be treated as a class.*

It is thus the civilized Filipinos, constituting a large majority of the population, who must, as distinguished from the savages, be treated as the Filipino people, just as the European race in the United States, as distinguished from the native Indians, must be treated as the American people. Commissioner Worcester criticises the civilized Filipinos in terms fully applicable to large classes in the most highly civilized countries, and to the masses in the independent states at the east of Europe, and those of Asia, Africa, and South America, and in the southern part of North America. But the commissioner declares that the civilized Filipino (that is to say, the five millions with whom we are at war) is "self-respecting and self-restrained to a remarkable degree;" that "he certainly succeeds much better in controlling himself than does the average European;" that "he seldom repudiates his debts, and if called upon to meet them, does his best;" and that "they are naturally fairly intelligent." He declared (p. 413) as a law formulated by him after an extensive observation among them "that their morals improve as the square of the distance from the churches and other so-called 'civilizing influences' increases,"—a valuable warning against "benevolent assimilation." Speaking of the successful military campaigns by which the Filipinos had secured the control of the islands, capturing many of the Spaniards, he said (p. 20):

When one considers the treatment which has been accorded to captured rebels by the Spaniards, he cannot fail to admire the self-restraint shown by the insurgents during the operations which followed.

The President himself quotes the tribute of his commissioners to the "mental gifts and domestic virtues" of the Filipinos. In this magazine for September, 1900, Major John H. Parker, now in command of a district, wrote that "the preconceived ideas of Americans (e.g., of Gov. Roosevelt in his quite unworthy comparison of them to

the savage, nomadic, and bloodthirsty Apaches) about them are nearly all wrong." He condemns vices of theirs which he says are due to their contact with "unscrupulous strength" (another warning against "benevolent assimilation"), but adds:

They are intelligent, and generally able to read and write; they are a very religious people; they have always been accustomed to a system of law and legal settlements of disputes; they have produced generals, poets, lawyers, painters, and business men of recognized ability—some of world-wide reputation; and they are eager to learn the ways of advanced civilization. . . . Far from being a degenerating race, they are a virile, young, and healthy new stock. . . . Their race type is to their world what that of the Americans is to the Western civilization.

If this testimony—all of it from the administration—be true, who dare say that this people is not ready for self-government,—not the *best* or an *ideal* government,—but *self-government*, with all its self-strengthening growth into stronger, better, more orderly, more honest, more merciful life? If they ought to be deprived of self-government, why ought not Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Venezuela, Brazil, Santo Domingo, Colombia, Mexico, Haiti, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Roumania, Siam, China, and Liberia to likewise forfeit theirs?

Let me, then, recapitulate the facts of late 1898. The civilized people were a majority of the Philippine population. The principal part of the archipelago was in their possession. The Americans held the port of Manila. The Spaniards had a claim of title to the entire archipelago, represented, however, by no possession other than of a few fortified places under siege. We had power to compel Spain to surrender her claim. The population was not only alien to us in race, but was distinctly of a character which we could not advantageously admit to our citizenship. We could never safely admit Philippine states to the American Union. The Filipinos had a government; and they had the gifts and civilization which sustain with success government in most quarters of the world—not government the purest or the best,—not a government free of dishonesty and brutality,—but one in all ages recognized as sufficient. Their country was on the coast of Asia, 8,000 miles away from our nearest shore.

If such were the relevant facts in the Philippines themselves, the all-relevant fact on our side of the Pacific was this,—that we were a people solemnly dedicated from the moment of our independence to the proposition that government must be by the consent of the governed, and that in that proposition we had found not only righteousness and the golden rule of

Christian statesmanship, but an industrial and popular well-being, wealth, and prosperity the greatest ever known by men. We had declined to take any really populated or civilized land (unless Hawaii, a few months before) except on the basis of its becoming an integral part of the American Union, sharing in its government, in its protection and privileges. Democratic self-government was the fundamental note and the glory of our republic. Every exception to it, whether in negro slavery or temporary or local suppressions of liberty, we had regarded as a misfortune, a shame, or a disgrace, which was to be eliminated, not to be extended. We were to steadily approach—never to depart from—the ideal of our government and civilization, the fruits of which, in our own splendid prosperity and in the beneficence of our example, had been so enormous, and promised to be so enduring. To this theory everything done by our Government, whether at home or abroad, must accord.

Such in 1898 was the Philippine problem; such was the rule America had long laid down for the solution of every like problem. What, then, was the duty of the President? He has himself, although but half consciously, made clear, in his letter of acceptance, his own conception of that duty. He said he had used—that is to say, he *meant* to use, he *should* have used—his power "for the *liberty*, the peace, and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples." He adopted the words of his commissioners, that our occupation meant (that is to say, it was, or at least should have been, so *intended*) "the idea of a *free self-governing* and united Philippine commonwealth." Every effort of his, he said, had been made to bring the benefactions of "*liberty* and good government" to these "wards of the nation." He asked whether the American republic would stay in the Philippines "and dispense to their inhabitants the blessings of *liberty*, *education*, and *free institutions* or steal away leaving them to anarchy or *imperialism*."

Now, what do the words "liberty," "freedom," "self-government," "free institutions" mean when used by a President of this republic? Were they ever before used by a President or by an American statesman still respected by Americans to mean any other thing than the right to adopt such form of government as the people to be governed themselves prefer? Does England ever pretend that her benefactions to India include any of these? The President declares the Declaration of Independence to be an "immortal instrument of the fathers" which "remained unexecuted until the people under the lead of the Republican party . . . wrote into the Constitution the amendments guaranteeing

political equality to American citizenship." The President, if this be sincere, and not a mere rhetorical catch-phrase, means, and can only mean, this: That, in his opinion, the Declaration of Independence is a fundamental instrument which should be held "immortal,"—that is to say, which Americans should never let die or cease in operation,—but that it remains unexecuted unless those who are within its purview have the power to vote for those who shall govern them. The President thus conclusively concedes self-government to be fundamental with us; he has the same understanding of self-government that his critics have—namely, that it implies the right of a people to determine their own government, whether for better or for worse, and not to have it determined for them, whether for better or for worse, by an alien people or ruler.

It is with an audacity the cleverness of which depends on the result to his campaign that the President would rob his adversaries of the word "imperialism." He tells us that "empire has been expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines by American freemen." And what does "empire" mean when used by an American president or by any American statesman of repute. It plainly means for President McKinley something that an American ought to think evil. Otherwise, surely, he would not, with slaughter and at great cost, expel it from any islands. And is that evil anything other than this: That people are governed against their own will in a manner determined by another people? Empire is not a synonym for dishonesty or brutality, or vice or other wrong. Such things may or may not follow empire; but they are not themselves empire. It is no more than the kind of government in which the will of the governed does not prevail. Supporters of the President sometimes illustrate this sole meaning when they say that they prefer an "honest empire" to a "dishonest republic." Much of England's imperial government is honest, orderly—in itself efficient. Empire does not in itself mean wickedness. Nor would the President, of course, use the word with puerile literalness as meaning government with an emperor such as that of Germany. A self-governing country choosing to call its constitutional chief executive, whether hereditary or not, an emperor is not "empire" in this kind of discussion; it certainly is not the kind of "empire" which the President rejoices to have expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines. It was with that meaning that Queen Victoria on January 1, 1877, assumed for use beyond seas the title "Empress of India."

The President has, then, conceded in words

from whose force honest escape is impossible that, whatever in 1898 may have been his conception of "destiny," his conception of "duty" was that which is now called anti-imperialist. Those were days when condemnation of "criminal aggression" still lingered on his lips. The United States, he has conceded, could meddle with the Philippine Islands only to give them liberty, freedom, self-government. Without self-government, he warns us, the Declaration of Independence "remains unexecuted;" and the Declaration, he declares, is still the "immortal" charter of our "duty."

Nor will the President yet dare to say that for any American there is doubt what is meant by a government of "freedom" or "self-government." If there be freedom at all, there is freedom to choose what the people governed themselves prefer, whether it be worse or better. The right to choose only what a stranger judges best, with no right to refuse it, would indeed be a Barmecide feast of "liberty." Theologians have disputed over the "freedom of the will;" but no theologian was ever so absurd as to say that the will of a man would be free if he could will only what the Almighty or a fellow-creature should prescribe. If Filipinos were to be *self-governed*, they must themselves say whether they would have an unlimited democracy or a limited one, or an aristocratic republic, or a kingdom. That there were minorities among them does not affect the rule. Popular self-government does not exclude the idea of coercion of the minority of a people by the majority among whom they live. The term is applied to the people of a country, whatever their subordinate diversities, taken as a whole. It does not imply the right of every man to live and act as he pleases. It is no *reductio ad absurdum*.

Now at last there is before us that whole situation in 1898, without realizing which we cannot say what the next President should do. We may now answer what President McKinley should have done in the Paris negotiation; and without this answer we cannot rightly say what his successor can and should do in March, 1901. The answer is perfectly clear and simple: He should have asked the Filipinos to designate their own representatives. If it were not possible to reach all of them, there was, at any rate, a *de facto* and sufficient government, which should have been asked to take part in the Treaty of Paris, so far as the concerns of its own land and people were to be disposed of. If its commissioners could not, because of Spanish susceptibility, be admitted to the conference, the American commissioners should themselves have conferred with them respectfully and intimately. Spain was ready to surrender her sovereignty

because she must; and it did not concern her who received it. The treaty should have required the surrender of the sovereignty to be made to the Filipinos, or if to the American republic, then not to be its property, but upon trust for the Filipinos. This was "plain duty." How was it performed? The President, in his instructions to the Peace Commissioners, talked of "dictates of humanity," of "high public and moral obligations," of the absence from his mind of any "design of aggrandizement" or "ambition of conquest," of our duty to be "scrupulous and magnanimous," of the "plain writing on our growth and career from the beginning" of "the high common pledge of civilization." After all this assertion of nobility of aims, the President stated various alternatives. He truly said that it was "undisputed that Spain's authority" was "permanently destroyed in every part of the Philippines." Affecting to recite all the alternatives, "we must," he said, "either hold them or turn them back to Spain." Was there not another alternative, easier, more righteous, and more American than either? It was to affirm the rightful sovereignty and independence of the Filipinos themselves; that is to say, to recognize and affirm the existing condition. The President said that he could not turn the islands over to one tribe out of eighty. No one has suggested that he should. To speak of the five millions of civilized Filipinos, the large majority of the whole population, as one tribe out of eighty would come measurably near to insincerity or frivolity. It would have been as sensible, 120 years ago, for England to have said that she would not turn the revolted colonies over to the colonists because she could not permit Mohicans, or Cherokees, or Apaches, or Utes to be tyrannized over by one tribe out of eighty. The respect now suggested for the will of the seventy-nine tribes is a mere affectation. The President does not dare to say, and there is not, I believe, in the official record, a scintilla of evidence, that any large body of the Filipinos desired American sovereignty. If they did, it surely was competent to them to express their desire. If they do now, let them be consulted. The American republic could then determine, without violation of the sacred rule of government by the consent of the governed, whether or not it would accept the trust.

Well, then, assume that by the Treaty of Paris Spain had surrendered her sovereignty either to the Filipinos or to us in trust for them; assume that the President had then invited from the Filipinos a reasonable proof—such as they were ready to give and such as they had given in form very creditable to them—of the existence and

authority of their government. The next step would have been the adjustment of relations between the United States, on the one hand, and the Filipino commonwealth on the other. It would have been easy to negotiate a treaty giving to us reasonable commercial privileges, together with the possession of the port of Manila as a naval and coaling station. If it be said that the Filipinos would not have conceded Manila, I answer that that cannot be known, for no such proposition was made. If the Filipinos had turned out to be unreasonable about this, and had sought to wrest Manila from us, we should then, perhaps, have had a just cause of war. Had there been any such war, it would have been a simple, limited, inexpensive affair, in which we would not have been aggressors. But it is clear that, with whatever reluctance, the Filipinos would have conceded Manila. With that and the commercial treaty, we should have had all the advantage which dominion over the archipelago would give us, and practically at no cost beyond that incurred in our war for Cuban freedom.

I believe some kind of protectorate over the Philippines would have been proper, and would have been welcomed by the Filipinos. Nor does the President deny this. Instead, he says in his letter that those favoring a protectorate proposed "to continue our obligations in the Philippines which now rest upon the Government, only changing the relation from principal, which now exists, to that of surety." This statement is far from the truth. The suggested protectorate did not imply, as the President adroitly but not very ingenuously assumes, that we should continue under the obligations involved in sovereignty. Protectorate implies no obligation concerning internal government. If the Filipinos should desire and receive our protection, no doubt there would be external obligations on their part, and obligations to us and other foreigners when in their land. If they should not perform their obligations, we should be at liberty to withdraw our protection. What is the Monroe Doctrine but the assertion of a protectorate by our Government over all other independent governments in America? What obligation would a Philippine protectorate imply greater than those we have assumed with respect to Mexico or Venezuela? We do not guarantee their bonds; we do not meddle with their internal administration. We simply declare that they shall be permitted, free of European interference, to work out their own future in their own way. Is not the same true of the protectorate over Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Greece, the Danubian principalities? In these cases, feeble nations have their inde-

pendence assured by one or several of the great powers. The latter do not guarantee debts or internal obligations. They merely assure the right of self-government and independence. In some cases the protecting power requires—but this is no necessary part of the protectorate—some special privilege or right, which is generally conceded by treaty. There may be added, and no doubt there is implied in the fact of a protectorate, the requirement that the protected state shall not enter into foreign relations against the will of the former. To have offered the Philippine commonwealth such protection, to be maintained at our pleasure, would not only have been gracious in itself, but would have perfectly consisted with American dignity and interests. Nor was there reason to think it would be burdensome to us. There is not the slightest proof that any other country, whether England or Germany, or Russia or France or Japan, would have interfered with the independence of the Philippine Islands after a mere intimation from the American Government that it wished that independence to be respected.

Can anything be clearer than that if this policy of just and generous treatment of the Filipinos had been followed that we should, at little cost, have enjoyed there all the real power we now have, that our trade would have had vastly greater advantages, that the glory of our arms would have been unsullied, and that the American name would have enjoyed prestige and splendor. I little doubt that the President now and then wistfully reflects that, had this been his policy, not only would his reelection be a certainty, but he would have put himself into that category of great Americans which includes Washington and Lincoln. It is a tawdry and Brummagem and fading glory which he has chosen instead.

It will be said that all this does not answer the question put to me—that it does not tell what a President Bryan could do after March 4, 1901, different from what a President McKinley has done and will do. The answer is, however, almost complete. Once perceive truly what was our duty in 1898, we know our duty to-day, except as specific events happening since have altered the situation. But the relevant and important events are these and only these: That we have sent nearly 100,000 troops to the Philippines and now keep there over 60,000; that we have made war upon the Filipinos at a cost of tens of thousands of their lives and of thousands of American lives and of hundreds of millions of money; that we have aroused their hatred; that the moral repute of our nation has suffered; that we have sacrificed the ideal of our civilization

and government; and that the advocates of a President of the United States seeking reelection, instead of asserting the supreme obligation of the "immortal" Declaration of Independence, are now compelled to vindicate the exceptions, lamentable, disastrous, and even disgraceful as they have been, which we have permitted, and our inconsistencies in performing its obligations. Is there, now, in these things reason why in 1901 we shall not accord to the Filipinos that liberty which we were bound to accord them in 1898? If we were wrong and are wrong, are we bound, for the sake of consistency, to remain wrong? If we have injured our national repute, is there any reason why we should not restore it? If we have aroused the hatred of the Filipinos, is there reason why we should not invite their regard? If we have now incurred large annual expenditure, is there any reason why we should continue it? If we have left the ideal of our civilization and government, is there any reason in the events of the past three years why we should not return to it?

The Paris Treaty being, under our Constitution, the supreme law of the land, the constitutional or legal mode of according that liberty to the Filipinos which the President concedes to be due them, or of performing toward them those obligations of the Declaration of Independence from which the President tells us we shall never be free, is of course different from what it would have been. Their relations must be determined by Congress. Whether the legal mode be by joint resolution or law is of little consequence. If in November the people make their will clear, no difficulty will prevent the new President and new Congress from carrying it out. Detail of procedure in the Philippines must, doubtless, be different by reason of the destruction which the American troops have inflicted and the occupation of many places in Luzon and the other islands by the American troops. We not only have defeated the Filipino troops: we have broken up their government. When, therefore, Mr. Bryan proposes, as a first step, to establish a stable government, he plainly does not mean that, if he were President, he or Congress would determine the permanent form or condition of the Philippine commonwealth, or that the United States would impose upon it a constitution. He means simply that there must be a stable—that is to say, a standing or substantive—government with which we can treat, and to which our departing soldiers may relinquish the physical power which, whether rightly or wrongly, we have acquired. As we have broken up the machinery of Filipino initiative, we must, for the time being, ourselves enter upon the ini-

tiative which in 1898 we should not have needed to undertake. Assuming a will on the part of the American executive to accomplish this, the details present no real difficulty. The government of our own Southern States after our Civil War was, for a time, in control of the military. Conventions were called and proclamations were issued by generals. Louisiana and Florida, and California and the other territory acquired from Mexico, were for a brief time held in the control of our executive, but merely as a preliminary and temporary step to their own self-government. In none of these cases was there difficulty in gathering representatives of the people, in protecting them, or in ascertaining their will. If the President be sincere in his fear that the Tagalogs will oppress or misrepresent the remaining Filipinos, let him instruct his military subordinates to take care that all civilized Filipinos be permitted to choose their representatives and share in forming the Philippine constitution. Surely we may trust the intelligence and conscience of the officers to certify truly which of the Filipino representatives are truly representative. It would be easy to constitute a government as genuine as was the government of the National Defense of France with which Prince Bismarck negotiated the Treaty of Paris in 1871. If the Filipinos desire Agui-

naldo for their president, they should have him; if they desire some one else, they should have him. All this will require patience, self-restraint, and sympathy and tact no doubt far greater than would have been required two years ago; but there are no insurmountable difficulties. When the new government is established, let a treaty be made. If Mr. Bryan be elected, it is certain that the Filipinos will regard his subordinates with a confidence which they cannot, if they be human, possibly extend to any subordinates of President McKinley. Our commercial rights, our ownership of the port of Manila, and all other details of the relations between the Filipino archipelago and the United States being established, we should withdraw our entire army, excepting such part as may be necessary for the occupation of the fortifications at Manila.

We can never undo the wrong of the past two years. But if there shall be a President Bryan, and if he shall—as I have no doubt he will, if elected,—carry out a policy of justice, having strict and sacred regard to the American ideal of government, we shall come to a power in the Philippines and on the Asiatic coast more fruitful of prosperity to our own people and nobler than any which a blood-stained sovereignty over the Philippines could give us in a thousand years.

MR. BRYAN AND THE TRUSTS: AN ANTI-TRUST VIEW.

BY THE HON. FRANK S. MONNETT

(Formerly Attorney-General of Ohio.)

WHAT can Mr. Bryan do, if elected President, toward controlling or punishing trusts, or curbing the abuses that grow out of a great aggregation of capital?

The above inquiry can be answered under three general heads:

First, what are a President's constitutional and statutory powers purely as an executive officer?

Second, what are his powers, under the Constitution, to effect legislation?

Third, what control or influence can the chief executive exert over the judiciary?

Under these three heads all governmental power or official authority is derived. It matters not whether it be exercised in carrying out a foreign policy, developing an economic theory, or establishing a system of finance.

In the heat of a political campaign, we some-

times lose sight of the limitation of the powers vested in the chief executive of this Government. Voters are sometimes led to believe, by editors and public speakers, that he is an absolute monarch. After the smoke of the campaign has cleared away and the inaugural address has been delivered, and the oath of office taken, he faces the capitol of his country, and finds on his right hand the United States Senate, composed of 90 members, many of them with a quarter of a century's experience in governmental affairs, and learned and schooled probably far beyond the newly installed President. On his left hand he will be confronted with 357 or more members of the lower house, any one of whom, in his own opinion, knows more about the questions of the day, and what is necessary to save the country from "dire ruin," than all

the other departments of government. If he turn toward the Senate restaurant, he will pass a green-baized door, through which, if he will condescend to look, he will observe nine solemn-faced, gracefully robed gentlemen, who at the noonday hour have been seated to take a little hand in the matter of running this government themselves. And in the presence of this body of men, the most potent in our sovereignty, the executive, his cabinet, the Senate, and the House may well take off their hats and listen to the report of the "committee of the whole." After this rude awakening of the Inaugurated, he must confess to himself that his term is only two-thirds that of any Senator, and scarcely a moiety of that of a United States judge; and I can imagine him asking himself, by this time, the same question that you have propounded to me.

THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS AND DUTIES AS AN
EXECUTIVE OFFICER.

In order to determine what the President can do toward righting any of these economic abuses, we must see what his constitutional and statutory powers may be. Under that instrument he is a chief executive, or has the executive power of the United States vested in him, "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Art. 2, Sect. 3, provides that "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and, to carry out these comprehensive powers, he is authorized and empowered by statute to appoint eight cabinet executive officers to enforce this provision.

Of these eight heads of the departments he has one Attorney-General; in him is vested the power to direct and put in operation the legal machinery of the Government. The office of attorney-general is provided with a solicitor-general and a whole corps of United States district attorneys, with their respective assistants, all directly the appointees of the President and subject to his removal or control, either for unfaithfulness or inefficiency. To further enforce and execute the laws, the President is made the commander-in-chief of the army, navy, and militia. A brief glance at these sources of his strength indicates the potency there is in the office of the chief executive, notwithstanding the constitutional limitations and statutory restrictions imposed upon it.

One of these laws that Mr. Bryan would be called upon to enforce with all this powerful machinery at his disposal, and in compliance with his oath of office—a law that he will find upon the statute-books, viz., the act of July 2, 1890, entitled, "An Act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies,"—is known to the profession, and to

the citizens generally, as the Sherman anti-trust act.

Space forbids setting forth herein the terms of this law; but it provides for a civil remedy, as well as a penal sentence, to be inflicted upon every corporation or association existing under or authorized by the laws of any of the States, Territories, or the United States, as well as individuals violating its provisions. It declares every contract and combination, in the form of trusts or otherwise, or a *conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce* among the States, *illegal and criminal*. It gives equity powers to all the circuit courts of the United States to restrain forthwith every individual, corporation, or association that either in a civil or criminal way violates these provisions. It is made the special statutory duty of the 76 district attorneys, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney-General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. This law, together with the general criminal laws, vests in every circuit court and federal grand jury, United States marshals, and the secret-service agents the right, and makes it their duty, to ferret out every violator of this law and punish them criminally and civilly.

In the ten years since its passage, this law has been before the United States courts at least thirteen times; the three most notable cases being *The United States vs. Trans-Mississippi Freight Association*, *The United States vs. Joint-Traffic Association*, and *The United States vs. Addystone Pipe and Steel Company*. In these now historic cases, the validity and construction of the act have been settled. The legislature has done its duty in this behalf, and the judiciary has fully sustained it. It is no longer an open question, either as to the power of Congress to punish trade conspiracies or to abolish monopolies. If there be good trusts; if there exist holy monopolies; if there live a righteous trade conspiracy,—it is not by the grace of the legislative department of the Government or the lack of power in the judiciary to abolish them; for nowhere can an executive officer read in this legislative act, or discern in the language of the judicial decrees, any such distinction as those for which our political bosses are wont to extend apologies.

The highest court of this land has repeatedly, both under this statute and under its common-law powers, denounced in unmeasured terms the commercial crime of monopoly and trade conspiracy. Then why are these laws a "dead-letter?" It is neither in the fault of the judiciary nor the legislative department—but the victims everywhere justly lay the blame at the executive door.

A President, as chief executive, can energize, by one word, his attorney-general and his 76 district attorneys by reminding them of his own oath and their oath to enforce the criminal and civil laws in their respective districts, including the anti-trust act. So that Mr. Bryan could do the energizing, and, in case of disobedience of his instructions, could secure the electrocuting of a few attorneys-general and district attorneys who, out of the 70,000,000 of people of the United States, are vested with this very important duty in the present congested condition of these economic questions.

In response to an inquiry from Congress, I note from the record that his Honor, John W. Griggs, the Attorney-General, furnished that body with a list of the prosecutions under this act, instituted by the present administration. The first one is *The United States vs. Anderson*, suit begun June 7, 1897, in which the United States failed, the subject-matter being such that the federal court had no jurisdiction. The second one was *The United States vs. Coal Dealers' Association*, filed December 16, 1897. The third is *The United States vs. C. & O. Fuel Company*, begun May 1, 1899, argued and submitted, but not decided. In the same case the grand jury, sitting at Cincinnati, Ohio, under Hon. W. E. Bundy, as district attorney, indicted a few of the coal barons, which case has never been tried or decided; but the cause is pending, on demurrer, to the indictment.

In the four years of this administration we have begun, practically, three cases—one tried and failed, one pending on briefs, and one decided. In the meantime, upward of 406 combinations have been formed, and others that have been in existence since 1876—such as the Standard Oil Trust—have been running full blast. If but two suits are filed and tried in four years, it will take upward of two centuries to undo what has been done in the last thirty-six months.

Mr. Bryan, as chief executive officer, would have many ways, as indicated by the court, of beginning prosecution of each and every trust within sixty days after his inauguration; but that would not be necessary. A wholesale example made of two or three of the outlaws and genteel law violators would have a very beneficial effect on the weaker ones.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has officially called attention to the open and notorious violation by the common carriers of the United States. The National Shippers' Association and other shippers have appealed in vain to the executive officers for relief. A friendly executive could entertain such appeals, and should take cognizance of the official reports of such bodies

as the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the reports of the Industrial Commission, to say nothing of the stench and fumes of monopolistic misconduct that fill the nostrils and are ever present and in full view of the district attorneys and the Attorney-General.

A military general who would permit an insurrection and smile at insubordination, under this same executive department, would be speedily court-martialed. So that, if Mr. Bryan is elected and is in earnest in carrying out his views to the extent of the constitutional and legislative power vested in him, he could remove the attorney-general and the district attorney who is incompetent, unwilling, or insubordinate, and put faithful men on duty.

What excuse would Mr. Bryan offer, in the face of his public statements and views of the Sherman anti-trust act, and in the light of the Addystone Pipe & Steel Company decision, for permitting the Buckeye Pipe Line Company to continue to operate its monopolistic business of shipping crude petroleum, or the Union Tank Line Company to haul the refined product and exact 100 per cent. more than the law allows them, in open violation of the anti-trust acts, and in defiance of the State's authorities under the claim of doing an interstate business. What excuse could he offer for accepting campaign assessments from such corporations, and what apology could he make for the existence of the sugar trust, or the salt trust, or to the official classification committee of the freight department of the railroads, in view of the powers vested in him and his seventy-six district attorneys?

In the language of Justice Peckham, in the Addystone Steel-Pipe case, in speaking of the effect of the testimony of said federated companies establishing their monopolistic price, "the most cogent evidence that they had this power is the fact, everywhere apparent, that they exercised it."

As President, Mr. Bryan would have the power, and in fact it would be his sworn duty, to enforce these anti-trust laws as faithfully and as promptly as he would punish the violators of the revenue, pension, or land laws of the Government.

WHAT ARE HIS LEGISLATIVE POWERS?

While he is called the chief executive officer, he could also exercise great power in the legislative department by favoring in his messages proper legislation along the lines he has advocated on the stump. The first and foremost is that of his power of veto—the constitutional power of the President to veto laws that do not agree with his views, and that are not in accordance with the public policy of the Government; and the requirement of a two-thirds vote of

each house of Congress is a powerful weapon to defeat extreme legislation on the one hand and to prevent monopolistic favors granted by legislation on the other.

Since only one-half of the total vote plus one is required to pass a bill without his veto, and two-thirds to defeat his veto, the President, in effect, has the equivalent of 59 votes in the House on the negative of any question, which is equal to the full delegation of an average of two and one-half States of the Union. In the Senate this power is equivalent to about 15 out of the 90 votes, or a power equal to seven and one-half States. But this is not his full power in the legislative halls, in the light of illustrious precedent. There is a potency in the use of patronage that has whipped in many a recalcitrant member, and either silenced opposition or forced a favorable vote. The last official roster of postmasters, as given in 1898, gave a total of 73,570, or an average of 206 appointments to each Congressman. And as the minority members do not have much say as to the distribution in their districts of these offices, it becomes quite an important matter of patronage to the Senators of such States. Add to this list the revenue collectors, consulships, United States marshals, and the army of subordinates, also naval and military cadet appointments, and it is apparent that a President can wield a powerful influence in organizing a House of Representatives, in dictating committees that will report or suppress legislation in harmony with his views, and do all things necessary to carry out an administration policy. Then again, in the light of precedent, a President, through his patronage, can mold public sentiment in favor of or against a given proposition or theory of government by filling subordinate places with country editors and bright newspaper men, who will remain loyal to him in their editorial columns or political letters. All this has been considered the exercise of legitimate political power.

And what has been said of the postmasters and their influence may be said of revenue collectors, United States marshals, census enumerators, pension agents, and commissioners on all subjects, who can be ever present in political caucuses, county and State conventions, forcing indorsements of whatever economic theory the chief executive may advocate, thereby binding in advance, and, under a gag-rule, forcing members of Congress to support measures directly against the best interest of capital on the one hand or against the consumers and small merchants on the other. With such power, and through these various ramifications, a measure that would be beneficial or that would protect the masses could

be wholly defeated by an executive who is a willing tool of trusts and monopolies.

Mr. Bryan could assist in electing or defeating any United States Senator he chose—at least, viewed in the light of precedent. If Mr. Bryan should sell out to the unlawful combinations of wealth, he could fill a capitol of any State with emissaries from his various governmental positions; he could establish telegraphic service and private wires at his favorite's headquarters, and furnish syndicated editorials for every one of the postmasters' papers in order to support, laud, and magnify his criminal plutocrat, if he were running such a character for the Senate; and he could, on the other hand, furnish boiler-plate or telegraphic editorials to his suppliant, editorial postmasters, maligning and vilifying the most worthy aspirant, who would fairly represent the masses and be the real choice of the people. Thus, he could even change the partisan or factional majority of the United States Senate; or, if he chose to carry out his more honorable or laudable aims and remain true to the people, he could prevent and refuse this abuse of his official position.

Space forbids to more than hint at the power Mr. Bryan could have in molding the sentiment of the upper and the lower house, in the four years of his term, for or against this great economic wrong that is manifestly crushing out the life of the man of moderate means and small fortunes.

THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENT IN THE JUDICIARY DEPARTMENT.

The chief executive's influence upon the judiciary of this Government is not so direct, and yet it has long been recognized that the personnel of the various federal courts may influence decisions of a *quasi*-political nature. I need but cite the Dred Scott decision of *ante-bellum* days and the income-tax decision of more recent date.

No keen observer can doubt that nine judges could be selected and appointed to fill the position of judges of the Supreme Court who would be of the same opinion as were the five that denied the validity of the income tax. So, likewise, nine equally able men could be found to agree, conscientiously, with the four that voted in the minority. Judges are human; their early education, mental training, and even professional career before being appointed to the bench unconsciously brings them to a proslavery or an antislavery decision; or in favor of or against an income tax, when it becomes a question of constitutional construction. Mr. Bryan, I doubt not, would in the four years have his quota of United States circuit, district, and supreme judges to appoint.

Who will gainsay, in the light of our judicial history, that his selection of judges, schooled in his belief and theory of economics, would honestly charge a grand jury more vigorously, and direct a district attorney more effectively, to bring before him and such grand juries offenders against the Sherman anti-trust act, as well as decide more promptly the various preliminary questions that are frequently interposed to stay proceedings, than would a judge that he might appoint from the ranks of the trust attorneys and from the ranks of the corporation counselors, or from the States where trusts were fattened; and yet these latter men might be equally as learned and conscientious as his former appointees. One set of judges would be active and aggressive in punishing all law violators alike; the other set might

be negative and non-aggressive, and wholly indifferent, either as to charges of grand juries or crowding offenders to trial.

In conclusion, I can but reiterate that Mr. Bryan, as President, can do much affirmatively to destroy trusts and monopolies by reason of his constitutional powers as chief executive proper, and as controlling legislative formation of committees, passing or defeating measures, and can wield indirectly great power through and over the courts; or he can negatively retard, practically, every effort to carry out or to enforce the Sherman anti-trust act, and nullify all of its provisions, by letting it be known through his political managers that campaign assessments will do much to soften the rigors of the law, even while a pretence of enforcement is still maintained.

TRUSTS, IN CASE OF BRYAN'S ELECTION.

BY PROF. J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.

(Of the University of Chicago.)

I AM asked, not to discuss the merits or demerits of trusts, but to express an opinion as to what Mr. Bryan could do in the way of carrying out his expressed policy against trusts if he were to be elected.

First of all, it must be recalled that as President Mr. Bryan would be only an executive. This reminder is the more necessary in a Presidential year, because the politicians are, as usual, engaged in the old game of associating all the great issues with this or that candidate for the Presidency, trying to further personal ambitions and perpetuate partisan organizations, when, all the while, the main issues can be settled only by the legislative branch in Congress assembled. Indeed, the Speaker of the House has more power in settling issues that need legislation than the President. Consequently, to know what Mr. Bryan can effect in this matter, it is important to consider how far Congress can be led.

In the next place, the issue of trusts differs from such issues as imperialism and civil-service reform. The policy in the Philippines is, as yet, almost entirely the work of the executive. The position of the President as commander-in-chief of the army and navy gives him war powers of great influence, and as an executive he can do much to embarrass or calm our foreign relations. The executive, also, can entirely control the civil-service appointees (subject to confirmation in certain classes); hence, his power is decisive on this question. But it is quite a different thing to

regulate trusts; for that is not an affair of the executive. Were Mr. Bryan elected, it does not at all follow that his platform will be enacted into law. We have had a very recent and unfortunate illustration of this, when Mr. McKinley was elected on the issue of establishing the gold standard, while to-day Secretary Gage is telling the public that the gold-standard law would not protect us from silver and a panic if Mr. Bryan were elected. The crux of the question, then, lies in what Congress is likely to do—not in what the President alone can do. In order to carry out a new policy against trusts, new statutes must be passed through both houses of Congress. Looking at Mr. Bryan's individual policy of controlling trusts by a constitutional amendment, it is clearly apparent that this is as much more difficult than getting an act through Congress as swimming the Hellespont is more difficult than swimming the Rubicon.

Granting Mr. Bryan's election, there are the following possibilities as to Congress—(1) a Republican majority in both Senate and House; (2) a Republican Senate and a Democratic House; (3) in a few years, a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House. The probability of a Democratic House, in any case, is so strong that if Mr. Bryan is elected, we may assume the first possibility as ruled out. In that event, there is nothing to be said; for no positive legislation could be passed, and Mr. Bryan's influence would end with preventing his opponents

from scoring by the exercise of the veto power. The second, however, would give the President little or no chance for party legislation on trusts. Even if a stringent bill were passed through the House, it would be held up in the Senate; because, as generally understood, that body is likely to act in protection of the large corporations. What influence Mr. Bryan, as President, could have on individual Senators, through offers of patronage, it is impossible to say beforehand—cynical as that may sound; but the political antagonisms are so strong that party fealty would probably defeat any recognized Democratic policy on trusts. To be sure, Mr. Cleveland drove a hostile majority in both House and Senate to repeal the purchase clause of the silver acts; but he had the support of the business community to help him in influencing members of Congress. Mr. Bryan would not have this support in attacking trusts (meaning, of course, large combinations of capital, even if not technically trusts). The Senate, as has been said, has shown itself in many instances friendly to the large corporations, and is not likely to help Mr. Bryan. It checked the full force of the Wilson bill, even when pushed by Mr. Cleveland; sugar and other interests received important favors from the Senate. All in all, even if in position to offer the spoils of office, Mr. Bryan need hope for little from the present Senate; it could cleverly emasculate a House bill on trusts, as easily as it did the House bill on the gold standard, and yet pose before the voters as opposed to trusts.

While keeping in mind the fact that a President is only an executive, still it must not be forgotten that he remains, in fact, a party leader, who can by tact, by adroitness, by bribing Congressmen with appointments (even those of the opposite party), so influence the close votes on critical bills as to gain his point. Moreover, he has at his elbow the successful manager of his campaign, and he can suggest the punishment of irresolute Congressmen who oppose him by threats of withdrawing funds from his district when he is running for reelection. The encroachment of the legislative on the executive branch of the Government is attended by a subservience on the part of the executive in order to gain certain legislation.

The real question arises in considering the third possibility. The election of Mr. Bryan should be properly regarded, not as an isolated phe-

nomenon, but as a sign of the growth of radicalism in the United States. If he were elected, and carried with him a Democratic House, there is reason to believe that this would also be accompanied by sending more radicals to State legislatures. If so, this would show itself in the substitution of radical for conservative Senators in Congress. The present Senate, by common report, is dominated by commercialism; and Mr. Bryan's party represents the struggle of the masses against the plutocrats. Hence, if Mr. Bryan succeeds, it would be regarded as an evidence of the rise of radicalism, which is certain to be felt later in the Senate. What legislation on trusts Mr. Bryan, in the end, could obtain becomes, therefore, a question of the outlook for radicalism in the United States. If one were to judge from the action of the country in 1896, it must be confessed that in no country in the modern world is there a more cautious and conservative element than the business community of the United States; and that whichever way it turns it generally decides the national election.

A radical, as distinct from a liberal, President like Mr. Bryan could, of course, exercise a considerable control over legislation on trusts in a negative way by his veto power; that is, he could prevent new favors to special interests such as have been notorious in the past. Consequently, bills intended to modify or repeal existing trust laws, railway legislation, and the like, could be killed, in all probability, by his veto (especially if one body in Congress were Democratic).

Finally, it remains to mention Mr. Bryan's power to execute the existing national anti-trust law. As an executive, through his attorney-general, he might stir up a good deal of trouble for many organizations. The Sherman anti-trust law is a very extraordinary measure, and its full import may not yet have been clearly understood. It is not clear but that it forbids labor combinations. But without going into the details of a very serious measure, it may be said in general that legal technicalities will, by offering new plans of operation, make it very difficult to prevent the continuance, even by national legislation, of industrial enterprises merely because they are on a large scale. The legal fraternity will find a way. Eventually, large operations must and will be allowed, provided they do not infringe on the rights of others, large or small, be they producers or consumers.

NEW LIGHT ON THE PROBLEM OF TRUSTS.*

BY CHARLES R. FLINT.

"THE Trust Problem," by Professor Jenks, is a valuable addition to much that is being written on the great economic evolution which is resulting in the centralization of industry.

He describes this movement, which has proceeded from destructive competition to "price agreements," and finally to consolidation. Intense competition, becoming disastrous, forced agreements on prices. The fundamental disadvantage of such agreements was that they were not lived up to. They offered a premium on bad faith, and finally our lawmakers wisely legislated against "price agreements." They were declared as in restraint of trade—against public policy. Then relief through centralizing manufacture naturally followed. Instead of a plan under which a reward was secured by breaking agreements, an absolute and permanent identity of interests was created, and it became in the interest of all to work for the common good. In place of an agreement to put up prices as the only relief from disastrous competition, plans were developed to secure more economic production and distribution. Many of the "industrials," certainly the most successful, while reserving a proper compensation for their stockholders, recognized that their continued success depended upon their giving to the public an opportunity to share in the benefits of the economies thus secured, thereby increasing the volume of business, and still further reducing the cost of production and distribution.

On the other hand, Professor Jenks calls attention to the fact that some so-called "trusts," under a shortsighted management, take advantage of centralization to increase the prices to the consumers, with the result that through natural laws conditions arise that bring about a war of prices, sometimes between giants, as in the case of the sugar war; and the lesson is taught that continuous success can only be maintained by low prices to consumers, large volume of business, and consequent reduction of the percentage of general charges to production and distribution, and other economies which, as every factory superintendent appreciates, can be secured when the factory runs full time.

Professor Jenks also points out that, while

through combinations men are thrown out of employment, combinations sustain and sometimes advance rates of wages; but it seems to me that he might have gone farther, to advantage, and called attention to the greater certainty and steadiness of employment insured through distributed markets by the enormous increase in the exports of manufactured goods made possible by more economical production secured by centralization. And this great increase of the exports of the products of our factories, which during the past two years of "industrial" organization has been 40 per cent. more than during the previous two years, and ten times what they were in 1860, as against an increase of other exports of less than fourfold, has been made while the wage-earners have been living better than any wage-earners have ever before lived in the history of the world, and at the same time depositing their surplus earnings, so that our savings-bank deposits have reached the great sum of \$2,300,000,000. Through the combination of our natural resources and superior organization, we are sending these enormous exports to countries where the average rates of wages are 40 per cent. of what we are paying to our laborers. These exports will still further largely increase as soon as there is a material reduction in our home demand; and thousands of our laborers who would otherwise be thrown out of work will, during such dullness in domestic trade, find employment in filling foreign orders.

Professor Jenks makes a point that appeals to every merchant: that, while the quality of certain kinds of merchandise is easily distinguished, in other products purchases are made on faith in the trade-marks. Large corporations almost invariably recognize that their most valuable assets are their trade-marks; and, not being under the pressure of intense competition, instead of making inferior, or what might be called counterfeit goods, they adopt the policy of sustaining and often improving the high quality of their products—thus increasing, instead of jeopardizing, their most valuable asset.

In referring to Royal Baking Powder, however, Professor Jenks states that "it may be perfectly pure, but the housewife who insists on using it has probably never tested it in comparison with other brands." There can be no better "proof of the pudding than the eating of

* The Trust Problem. By Jeremiah Whipple Jenks, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.

it ;" and the general popularity of a trade-mark results from the fact that it has been tested in comparison with other brands, and that it holds its position owing to the fact that it has been subjected to the most practical test—viz., the test of the oven.

Professor Jenks describes, in a most able way, the evils of overcapitalization, and it is to be hoped that at a later period he will publish another volume giving many interesting facts on this subject that did not exist at the time this volume was written. To-day the advantage of centralized industry is generally recognized. The fact that, through the distribution of shares, the profits of manufacturing are being widely distributed to investors and the employees in the different companies is recognized as of general advantage ; but what is most interesting to the public is to have suggestions as to how they can discriminate between the good and the bad. In the case of one "industrial," tangible assets were purchased for \$800,000 in cash, and those assets then capitalized for \$4,000,000 preferred stock and \$4,000,000 common stock. At present those securities are selling 60 per cent. below the price at which they were sold to the subscribers. The result is that there is a lack of confidence in that particular company, and such inflation tends to lessen confidence in the sound "industrials." There should be some well-defined rules in capitalizing "industrials." Preferred stock should not be issued in excess of the actual value of tangible assets, except in cases where there is a very large earning capacity protected by patents or trade-marks, as in the case of the Royal Baking Powder and the American Chiclé Co. (chewing-gum).

No preferred stock should be offered to the public until its earning capacity has been demonstrated. In the case of the consolidation of companies that have an established business and a demonstrated earning capacity, the placing of the securities on the market is justifiable ; but where the business is a new one,—the exploitation of patents and processes,—the stock should be locked up until the concern has shown its capacity by the actual earning of dividends. Where any other course is pursued, the public may be deceived, and it results to the prejudice of those responsible for the organization. The great responsibility in connection with capitalizing "industrials" is, to my mind, in the issue of senior securities. In the issues of junior securities, notice is given to the public by the word "common" being engraved in large letters across the face of the certificate that such stock is not an investment security ; that it represents good-will.

But the responsibility of issuing bonds and preferred stock is a most serious one, because the public interests demand that said securities be put upon a basis sufficiently conservative to justify investment by those who are dependent on income ; and where the issues of such senior securities have been offered to the public, and have not been based upon tangible assets or protected earning capacity, to my mind it would appear to be a method of obtaining money under false pretenses. The investor has been very largely responsible for unsound capitalizations, being too careless in buying shares. Most investors have the facilities through banks or bankers of securing the opinions of men of high character who are well informed in regard to "industrial" propositions ; and if they had taken the trouble to use such sources, they would have been able to make sound investments in "industrials," but instead of that, they have been attracted by the fact of a large number of shares being procurable for what appeared to be a comparatively small amount of money, and such carelessness has given the opportunity to those who have not been thorough in organizing "industrials" to place securities upon a purely artificial basis.

The common stock of "industrials" to-day occupies the same relation to "industrial" capitalization that the common stock of railroads occupied to railroad development. Most of the railroads were constructed for the amount of the original issue of bonds, and the common stock largely represented prospective value. Time put these stocks in the position of investment securities, and in the case of the well-organized "industrials" the same conditions will prevail ; but at present, the public not feeling able to discriminate, good "industrial" securities are sold at a price that shows from 15 to 30 per cent. earning capacity on the present quotations, while railroad securities, having been tried by time, are selling on the basis of from 4 to 7 per cent., and many without any better guaranties for permanency of earnings than are possessed by the good "industrials."

Professor Jenks' work is by no means an academic treatise ; it deals with actual facts and conditions, not with mere speculations and theories. The author's position as counsel to the United States Industrial Commission (the report of which is contained in an appendix to the volume) has given him unusual facilities for the acquisition of the freshest and most authentic data. In his treatment of trust legislation, Professor Jenks confines himself to practical propositions now before the people, and his book is an important contribution to current political discussion.

BRYAN'S FINANCIAL POLICY: A REPUBLICAN VIEW.

BY THE HON. GEORGE E. ROBERTS.

(Director of the Mint.)

IN what way would the election of Mr. Bryan be likely to change the financial policy of the Government, and what effect would it probably have upon the money markets of the country, and, through them, upon trade and industry?

The present policy of the Government is to keep all of our money at par with our gold coin, to the end that the word "dollar," wherever it may be used, be it on paper, silver, or gold, or in a bond, a note, an insurance policy, a bank credit, a price-list, or a wage agreement, shall always mean the same value. The attitude of Mr. Bryan towards this policy is well known. He is opposed to all efforts to maintain the gold standard, holding that such efforts enhance the value of gold, and make money too dear.

To maintain this parity, it is necessary that those who desire gold shall be able to obtain it without cost over paper or silver. There is a legitimate and necessary use for gold in our relations with the world—relations becoming daily more intimate and important. Gold is the only money we have that can go abroad and be converted into the money of other countries. If those who require it cannot obtain it readily from their bankers or from the Government, they will bid a premium for it; and a premium on gold means that the parity of our several forms of money is lost. If it occurs under conditions likely to be permanent, it means that about one-half the total stock of money in the country has become a commodity, and is withdrawn from circulation.

It is known by all who were familiar with the situation that the Government was very close to a suspension of gold payments during the last administration of President Cleveland, and that the crisis was only tided over by the bond sales. Such was the public alarm and sense of insecurity that gold was generally hoarded, money-lending practically ceased, enterprise was suspended, and all business operations were contracted to the narrowest scope. The country had an abundance of money, but the danger of a premium on gold made nearly one-half of its stock unavailable for use.

There was entire confidence in President Cleveland at that time. Nobody doubted that, so

long as he was President, gold payments would be maintained. Secretary Carlisle found authority to do what the new monetary act directs the secretary of the treasury to do; namely, replenish the gold reserve by the sale of bonds. But public confidence was not maintained, as everybody knew that the protection given by a friendly administration might be wanting after the Presidential election. The bond sales were unpopular, and were decried by Mr. Bryan and his followers as a regular, necessary, and inevitable accompaniment of the gold standard. The greater the probability of Mr. Bryan's success, the greater was the pressure for the only kind of money he could not depreciate, the greater the necessity for bond sales, the greater the paralysis in financial circles; and all of these conditions were seized upon by him and made capital for his campaign. This experience demonstrated that it is unfortunate to be obliged to resort to bond issues to maintain the gold standard. It is an emergency defense, uncalled for unless the credit of the Government is under strain, and then so subject to misrepresentation as to be perilous to its own cause.

We have seen that while protected by the Cleveland administration as effectually as it could be under any gold-standard law, the country suffered from apprehension of what was threatened. If Mr. Bryan should be elected now, would there, or would there not, be ground for apprehension as to what might follow?

The gold-standard law received 11 Democratic votes in the House. There is greater probability that the next House will be Democratic than that Mr. Bryan will be elected; and, if the latter event occurs, it may be accepted as certain that the House will be Democratic by a much larger majority than 11. The free-silver element will organize the House, elect the Speaker, and control legislation.

In the Senate there are now 54 votes to sustain the gold-standard law, counting one in the Pennsylvania vacancy. But the two Democrats who voted for it, Lindsay and Caffery, will be replaced on March 4 next by free-silver Senators already elected. Seven Republican Senators who voted for it are likely to lose their seats at

the same time, if the sentiment of the country is such as to elect Mr. Bryan. They are Baker, of Kansas; Carter, of Montana; Elkins, of West Virginia; Shoup, of Idaho; Thurston, of Nebraska; Warren, of Wyoming; and Wolcott, of Colorado. If Mr. Bryan is elected, he will almost certainly carry all of these States; and if he carries them, it is to be expected that they will elect free-silver Senators. Nine votes deducted from the sound-money strength leaves the Senate a tie, with a free-silver Vice-President in the chair.

It is apparent, from the foregoing, that if Mr. Bryan is elected there will be no safe and reliable majority against him in either branch of Congress. It is impossible for any man to give his influence to the election of Mr. Bryan without aiding him to control in Congress. A few sound-money Democrats in either body will not suffice to relieve the country from anxiety. Against them will be their party's platform, the tremendous weight of party pressure, the organization in both houses, and finally the influence and disciplinary powers of the President. A signal example of what the latter can accomplish was given when the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act was repealed, and a striking demonstration of how Mr. Bryan would use those powers was afforded by his attitude toward the Kansas City Convention.

By his election the free-silver heresy would be revived, and with new prestige and strength become an acute issue. From the hour that the result was known, there would be apprehension as to the attitude of Congress and speculation as to how long it would hold out against his will. There would be no relief from apprehension while Mr. Bryan was President; for, if the Congress elected with him should be blocked by a few resolute men, there would be the chance that the next one would be more pliant. The influence of this uncertainty and suspense upon the business community would be depressing. It would give a chill to confidence and a check to enterprise. Capital would again look for safety rather than for employment. The inducement to hoard gold would be the same as in 1895 and 1896, and the same influences would be operative that caused the heavy gold exports of that alarming period.

Then would come a test of the new gold-standard law, and it would be a test under most unfavorable conditions. The normal strain upon its provisions can be calculated; but when the movement of gold is no longer controlled by the ordinary considerations of profit, it is impossible to forecast what the pressure may be. It is fair to presume that President Bryan would obey the

mandatory provisions of the law, and redeem United States notes and Treasury notes in gold coin. Under ordinary conditions, these drafts on the gold reserve are met by transferring from the general fund gold received in the current revenues; but experience has shown that whenever apprehension arises that the Government may cease to pay gold, it ceases to get gold in the current revenues. The administration would doubtless pay silver freely to all creditors of the Government where not required to pay in gold, and it is not likely that the Treasury would receive any gold except by purchase. The reserve would, therefore, have to be replenished by the sale of gold bonds. This act would be a distasteful one for the President to perform, and would not unlikely be accompanied by a protest against the law, which would be discredited and weakened by his influence. If he could use bond sales to create opposition to the gold standard in 1896, his position as President would enable him to make his protest more effective; and repeated bond issues under such conditions, with Congress in an uncertain attitude, could not fail to increase the general alarm. It might become impracticable to sell a 3-per-cent. bond at par, as required by the statute. No European government has yet attempted to do it. The recently announced loan by the imperial government of Germany pays 4 per cent.

With distrust of the future prevalent, business slackening, money redundant, and a persistent movement of gold out of the country. Government paper redeemable in gold might become as scarce in circulation as gold itself. In that case the gold reserve would become ineffective, because beyond reach. The common circulating medium would be silver certificates, which are inconvertible; and, if gold did not actually reach a quotable premium, it would be out of use, and we should have all the evil effects of contraction.

The most unsatisfactory feature of our monetary system is the great volume of overvalued silver not convertible into gold. It is admittedly contrary to the principles of sound finance to have a large proportion of the full legal-tender currency not convertible into the standard money. It is said that the Republican party, having control of both houses, should have remedied this weakness by making silver dollars and notes exchangeable at the Treasury for gold. But no party can control, in all respects, the individual action of its members. The gold-standard bill as passed is a valuable measure. It greatly improves our financial status. The Senators from the silver-mining States who furnished the votes to pass it took their political lives in their hands when they did so. They were ahead of public

sentiment in their States at that time. They went as far as they felt justified, under their responsibility to their constituents, in going.

The weakness named is one that time will cure; for, with the growth of the country, the proportion of silver in the total supply of money will decline, and the entire stock of silver and paper based on it, with the latter reduced to small notes, will be widely distributed and wholly employed in the retail trade. When that time comes there will be a practical obstacle to its use as a medium for large payments, and the problem of converting it into gold will have disappeared. The framers of the law, restricted by limitations of which

their critics know nothing, counted on this certainty to complete their work. Whatever criticisms of this character are made, they ought not to be offered in the interest of a party which had but two votes in the Senate for any gold-standard measure, and which has since disowned and rejected the men who cast those.

In conclusion: There is no safety to the gold-standard except by keeping its enemies from power. The elevation of so conspicuous and extreme an opponent as Mr. Bryan to a position of such preëminent importance and vast influence as the Presidency would be to throw away all that has been achieved in former victories.

BRYAN'S FINANCIAL POLICY: A DEMOCRATIC VIEW.

BY CHARLES B. SPAHR.

IN reply to the question, "What could Mr. Bryan do about the financial policy of the Government, if he were elected President?" I would say that, during the first two years, he could maintain the existing status of our gold, silver, and paper currency; and that, during the next two years, if his party could carry the intervening Congressional election on the financial issue, he could restore silver to the currency upon terms which would insure its continued parity with gold.

The attempt of Secretary Gage to alarm the country lest Mr. Bryan, in spite of a hostile Senate, should put the country "on a silver basis" by paying out silver to redeem bonds and notes still payable therein, is as farcical a bugaboo as party exigencies have ever put forward. In the first place, as the *Springfield Republican* has pointed out, Mr. Gage himself has been paying out silver and silver certificates to as great an extent as was easily possible. Of the \$500,000,000 of silver currency in the country, less than 3 per cent. is in the treasury. There is now the "circuit of silver out of the treasury into the hands of the people, from the people into the banks, from the banks into the custom-house, and into the hands of collectors of internal revenue," which the secretary looks forward to with so much trepidation. If this, as he says, will put us on a "silver basis," we are now on a "silver basis." No secretary could pay out his silver receipts any faster than Mr. Gage has done, and he can hardly alarm the country by predicting that Mr. Bryan's secretary will continue to do just what he has done from the beginning.

So long as the United States Senate remains hostile to the increased use of silver as money, a Democratic President could not possibly increase its use as money. All that he could do would be to maintain the existing status. This, however, is a matter of importance. The gold-standard act passed by the last Congress does not, in so many words, make our silver dollars and silver certificates redeemable in gold on demand; but it contains a clause which might be construed to authorize such redemption. Prior to 1893 there was never in any statute any shadow of authorization for the redemption of silver currency in gold. In that year, in response to the question whether the silver (issued under the Bland-Allison Act) had ever been redeemed in gold in order to keep it at par with gold, the writer received, through Senator Sherman, the following letter from the Treasury Department:

The treasury does not pay gold for standard silver dollars or silver certificates issued under the Bland-Allison act. Silver certificates issued under that act are redeemable only in standard silver dollars, or other silver certificates.

(Signed)

J. K. MELINE,
Assistant Treasurer, U. S.

If Mr. Bryan were elected President, his secretary of the treasury would undoubtedly continue to treat the silver dollars and silver certificates as they were treated by secretaries of the treasury under Presidents Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, and Harrison. He would not redeem them in gold, unless the Republican Congress during the next session should require him to do so;

but his preservation of the silver currency upon the same basis on which it was issued and remained at par for fifteen years would not threaten the slightest depreciation. Mr. Bryan's policy would not deviate from that pursued by any of Secretary Gage's predecessors, and would only deviate from that which Secretary Gage himself proposes in case he intends to redeem silver in gold on demand, and thus turn our \$500,000,000 of silver into an "endless chain" to draw gold from the treasury and force the issue of bonds. If Secretary Gage does propose to do this, frankness requires that he should so state to the country.

So far as the next Congress is concerned, the only peril to the existing status of our currency lies in the desire of certain powerful supporters of Mr. McKinley to complete the retirement of greenbacks and begin the retirement of silver. Two years hence, however, a new Congress will again be elected, and new Senators will be chosen in doubtful States now represented by Republicans. A change in the political complexion of the Senate, therefore, is then possible; and while the Democratic Senators who may be chosen from the more Eastern States will probably be conservative upon the silver question, Mr. Bryan may hope, during the last half of his term, to sign constructive acts to restore silver to its old place in the currency. The fact that the passage of a free-coinage bill pure and simple is hardly to be hoped for does not in any respect negative the possibility of restoring bimetallism. Conservative bimetallists have again and again recommended, as an initial measure, the unlimited coinage of silver purchased at its market value. This insures to monometallists that a gold dollar's worth of silver bullion shall be back of every silver dollar issued; it insures to bimetallists that all the silver not used in the arts or shipped to the Orient shall again be added to the currency. In 1890, Secretary Windom recommended legislation of this sort, and the immediate effect of the Sherman act, passed in July of that year, proved that but for the restriction placed upon the purchases of silver its old value would at once have been restored. The value of silver bullion the year before had been down to 92 cents an ounce. The Sherman act increased the Government's purchases of silver only \$2,500,000 a month. Yet this increase raised the price of silver bullion all over the world to \$1.16 an ounce—or, to within 10 per cent. of the old ratio of 16 to 1.

To-day, the quantity of gold produced is relatively far greater than in 1890, and the price of silver would be relatively higher if the currency demand for the two metals had remained the same. To-day, therefore, the passage of an act

for the unrestricted coinage of silver to be purchased at a market value not exceeding its coin value would restore the old ratio as surely as the value of silver bullion is governed by the law of supply and demand. A bill framed in this way was supported by all the bimetallists in the Senate in 1894, but was defeated by those who maintained that the increase of the currency would be an evil to both capitalists and laborers. To-day, when President McKinley is boasting that the increase of our currency from \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 in four years has been accompanied by increased business at increased prices, there are relatively few who look upon the increase of the currency as an evil to the producing classes. Mr. Bryan, therefore, might easily bring the conservative members of his party to support a measure which without imperiling the continued parity of gold and silver coin would restore silver to its old place in the currency.

If legislation of this sort failed to restore silver bullion to the value it held for generations, until adverse legislation took away the currency demand for it, then the bimetallists in Congress would change the ratio. The ratio at which the free coinage of both metals shall be resumed is not the essential part of the measure. Bimetallists believe in the old ratio, because we believe that legislation should restore to silver the value which legislation has destroyed, and because we know that the adoption of any higher ratio would necessitate the recoinage of all existing silver coins and proportionately lessen the amount of silver to be added to the currency in the future. But if the currency demands of the United States failed to restore silver bullion to its coin value, the bimetallists in Congress would accept the ratio which the equal treatment of both metals established. Not one bimetallist in five wishes a silver currency that will not, in all ordinary transactions, be at par with gold; and it is folly to fear that bimetallist Congressmen will force upon the country what their own constituents do not want.

All this, however, belongs to the campaign two years hence, when the future currency policy must be decided. Prior to that time the amount of silver currency cannot be increased. By that time the issue of imperialism must be disposed of, for unless Mr. Bryan meanwhile brings to an end the present war against the right of our recent allies to the government of their choice, the chagrin of his supporters would make the defeat of his party inevitable. The men who are now united against imperialism may as safely divide in 1902 as those who are divided upon the currency may safely unite now.

DOES JAMAICA CONTAIN A LESSON IN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT?

BY JULIUS MORITZEN.

WHATEVER text-book the United States may consult in the matter of colonial information applicable to Porto Rico and the Philippines, as it concerns the new possession in the West Indies, the history of Jamaica should not be passed by as valueless. True, the British colony in the Caribbean Sea does not furnish a record worthy of emulation. Few islands in the world have done more to shake one's confidence in colonial prosperity. But it is exactly because of what has happened in Jamaica, during the past ninety-five years, that a lesson may be learned for others to profit by. Since that early period, changes have been wrought for better or for worse such as but needed the Spanish-American War to add one more phase to the already sufficiently complex situation.

There is not the least doubt that the result of the war with Spain is responsible for the awakening of such of the West Indies as still fly the flags of foreign nations. Suddenly these colonies have become possessed of a certain insular importance. Take, as an instance, the Danish West Indies. While it is argued that, since the United States now owns the finest harbor in the Antilles, there is need no longer of St. Thomas as a possible coaling-station, still it must not be supposed that Denmark holds her property in less esteem. Because the sum recently mentioned as a possible selling-price is less by far than that of thirty-four years ago, yet the Danes will know how to drive a proper bargain when the real time to sell arrives. However, there is every indication that the Danish Government is of the opinion that what the islands are worth to others they are worth to Denmark; and a fresh attempt is about to be made to redeem the Danish West Indies from their unprofitable past and their present stagnation. Should the experiment succeed, the proximity of St. Thomas to Porto Rico will prove to be the chief factor of transformation.

There is high speculation in Jamaica as to the future government of the Cubans. In a measure, the largest colony of the British Empire in the West Indies is now much nearer to the United States than before the evacuation, by the Spanish troops, of Cuban soil. If a considerable faction in Jamaica had the say, Cuba would never be handed over to its people for self-gov-

ernment. Anglo-Saxon blood in control is just what this faction would wish for. But ask the average Jamaican his opinion anent the annexation of Jamaica to the United States, and the reply would please the patriotic citizen of whatever nation.

Jamaica has no desire for annexation to the United States. Whatever may have been former attempts in that direction, the inhabitants of the island are to-day as British as those of Great Britain. In spite of the present deplorable financial condition; in the face of the disaffection due to excessive taxation, although the representatives of the people have refused to legislate with the members appointed by the Crown, Jamaicans do not look to annexation as their ultimate salvation. As in the case of the Danish West Indies, though in a different sense, the remedy is now looked for from within. And again it is the advent of the United States in the West Indies that furnishes the basis for stimulation.

Capital is the present cry emanating from Jamaica. It was American capital and American brains which, during the past ten years, partly redeemed the island to itself. From the governor down to the lowest-caste coolie, all have praise for what the Americans have done. But will the investment of United States capital continue? Such is the burning question of the hour. Can the people of Jamaica keep on depending on Americans as their exploiters, or will they at last be forced to lend a hand themselves? All indications point in the direction that, with the fertile soil of Cuba nearer the United States, a great trade is to spring up between this island and the mainland. Then, Porto Rico likewise produces the identical staples with Jamaica. Before long shipments of fruit from Cuba and Porto Rico will prove these islands to be rivals of consequence to the British colony which has long held the monopoly.

There is awaiting, in the Senate of the United States, the ratification of a treaty of reciprocity with Jamaica. But the opinion is now prevalent in the island that this treaty is as good as shelved. The map of the West Indies has undergone considerable changes since the agitation for a reciprocity treaty first began. And since Porto Rico

is now American territory and Cuba as yet under United States domination, there is every reason to understand why the chance for the treaty to become operative is diminished. Jamaica, therefore, finds herself in a decidedly peculiar position. The island wants American goods, and in return for a reduction in duties asks the United States to reduce the custom-duty on fruits. As long as Spain held possession of Cuba and Porto Rico and failed to develop the resources of those islands, such an arrangement with Jamaica might have been useful. The turbulent condition of the Spanish colonies, furthermore, did not invite American investment. But with the Spanish-American War all this has changed. And with every American dollar that now seeks investment in Cuba, this island looms up a more formidable rival to the British colony. It is this the Jamaicans have at last come to realize. How it is proposed to meet the new conditions will be shown directly.

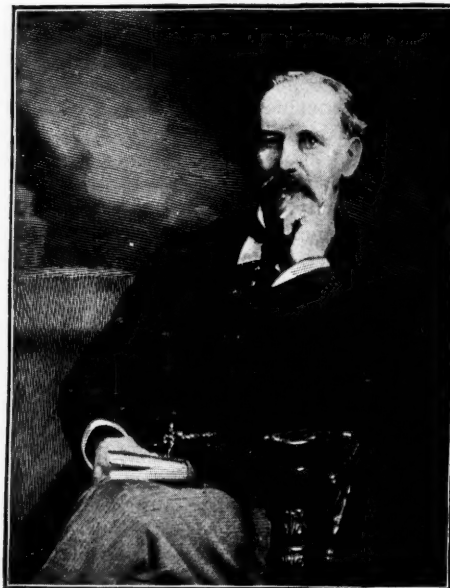
For the purpose of gaining information anent the state of affairs in the West Indies since the war with Spain, the present writer recently spent two months in Jamaica. With Cuba and Porto Rico already treated of exhaustively, there was wanting an estimate as to the conditions now prevailing to the south of these islands. Most assuredly the result of the investigations comes as a series of conflicting pictures. The marvelous possibilities of the soil, the political imbroglio, the commercial anxieties and anticipations, the general unrest of the people, combined in a manner which made the task far from being an easy one.

To begin with, the poverty of Jamaica, it is claimed, is due to excessive taxation. Of course, in his interview with the present writer, his Excellency, Sir Augustus Hemming, the governor of Jamaica, avoided as much as possible any reference to political conditions and those concerning colonial government. But the views held by other prominent men of the island, including the leading elected members of the Legislative Council, would seem to indicate that the blame for the present unsatisfactory condition rests with the home government. And the Transvaal is not the only spot on earth where the name of Joseph Chamberlain is unbeloved. The colonial secretary of the British empire is the moving spirit behind the visible government of Jamaica. Whatever is done there is due to his decisive action.

Before treating of the political phases, it is advisable to first see what Americans are doing in Jamaica. Since to them is due the partly rejuvenated condition of the island, it is necessary to follow them back some twenty-five years;

and this is the more significant as the very men who then entered the field here are now engaging in similar pursuits in Cuba. The \$1,000,000 sugar-plant under erection in Cuba is in charge of the American who made possible the immense fruit trade of Jamaica.

The United Fruit Company is the largest corporation in the world devoting itself to the cultivation of tropical fruits, exporting the product,



SIR AUGUSTUS HEMMING.
(Governor of Jamaica.)

and acting as its own distributor in the United States. What was formerly the Boston Fruit Company united with a number of similar concerns, also doing business in Central and South America, with the United States as the common market. At the head of the Boston company stood Captain L. D. Baker, and to him is due the credit of being pioneer in the export and import of tropical fruits. With a capital of more than \$20,000,000 invested in the business, the United Fruit Company covers the field including South and Central America and Jamaica. Since Jamaica was the place first discovered as available for export of fruits on a large scale, it may be guessed that here can be learned much of interest in that direction. When the various companies consolidated, Captain Baker preferred to take charge of the Jamaica division; and it is through the courtesy of Captain Baker that the present writer is now able to convey information unobtainable elsewhere.

A short sketch of Captain L. D. Baker is essential before proceeding. Born on Cape Cod, he went to sea at an early age. Engaging in the South American coastwise trade, he soon became convinced that there was money in the exportation of tropical fruits. In command of his schooner, the young seaman realized that it was impossible to conduct the business profitably when handling other cargo besides the perishable one. It was evident that fruit had to be loaded with the utmost expediency, shipped to its destination with all the haste of wind and weather, and distributed without waste of time. Captain Baker was willing to try the experiment. Almost from the first the venture proved a success. Before long steamers supplanted the uncertain sailing vessels, and from its small beginning of twenty-five years ago the promoter of the enterprise and those who associated themselves with him have seen the business grow to such proportions that the entire island of Jamaica almost is depending for its sustenance on the plantations of the United Fruit Company and the export of its products to the United States.

Captain Baker had just returned from a trip to Cuba when the writer sought him out in Port Antonio, which is the principal shipping-place of the northern coast. From here special fruit-steamers leave almost daily for the United States, and Port Antonio is the headquarters of the United Fruit Company in the island.

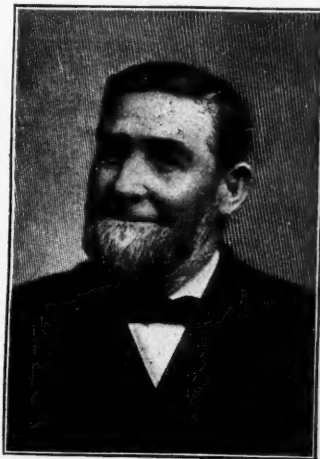
"I am very much impressed with the possibilities of Cuba," Captain Baker said, ignoring for the moment a question pertinent to Jamaica. "The sugar-plant now in course of erection promises to be of great importance. Yes, I have

no hesitancy in saying that we are going into business over in Cuba. The field there is a promising one; and then, the United States market is so much nearer than from Jamaica. As for Cuba becoming a formidable rival to Jamaica, it is yet too soon to tell for a certainty. In so far as sugar is concerned, I am of the opinion that this island has seen its best days long ago. And any attempt to restore the sugar industry in Jamaica will be fraught with difficulty. We all know the immense revenue which cane-sugar yielded in its time. But, in order for the

business to pay now, it is necessary to obtain large tracts of land, with great central factories to handle the product of the field. As for raising bananas and cocoa-nuts, the smaller holdings answer the purpose well enough; for there is nothing to stand between the cutting down of the fruit and bringing it to the shipper. But cane needs considerable attention. I doubt very much

that even concerted action in this island will ever make the sugar industry of Jamaica a factor in its rejuvenation. There is an immense future for sugar-raising in Cuba; and while we are investing considerable capital, due to the most modern machinery, we expect to be well repaid in time.

"It is largely owing to the antiquated machinery on the former sugar plantations that cane-sugar has been left so far behind the beet product. If the same high-class machinery had been installed on the cane-sugar plantation as is in vogue in the beet-sugar factory, the cane would



CAPTAIN L. D. BAKER.

(The pioneer in the tropical fruit trade.)



PORT ANTONIO.

(Principal shipping-place of the northern coast of Jamaica.)

still be a factor of importance. Of course, the bounty given by foreign countries has enabled the beet to gain a considerable hold."

The United Fruit Company is going in heavy for the cultivation of pineapples. The success of this fruit has been only limited, but it is ex-

steamers directly from Jamaica to Liverpool. The subsidy to be paid the company is \$200,000, and people are wondering from where the money is to come. Of course, the home government is to give one-half this sum; but, with the impoverished condition of the Jamaican Treasury, the other half (\$100,000) is considerable of a figure. Most assuredly the island cannot stand any more taxation, if it is expected to raise the money by that method. Joseph Chamberlain, however, was of the opinion that the new line was the only salvation for the country. Remonstrances, coming from otherwise influential people, did not make the colonial secretary of the empire change his mind.

Since the proposed direct line in reality concerns the Jamaicans chiefly, there is not much of a lesson to be learned from the success or failure of the enterprise. But there is another scheme advanced in the matter of furthering the prosperity of the island. This plan was



DOMESTICS WITH FRUIT, YAMS, ETC.

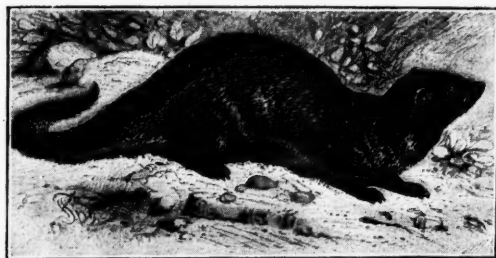
pected that before long there will be large shipments of pines from here to the United States.

While it is conceded on all sides that the various American fruit companies in Jamaica have saved the island, the new direct steamship line to England, to become operative soon, is the result of a certain anxiety on the part of many Jamaicans who fear that Cuba and Porto Rico will soon appear as rivals to the British colony, and ship vast quantities of fruit to the United States. It is openly said that a new market must be ready should American capital become diffident here. Since the Imperial Government has a hand in the new steamship move, supplying half of the subsidy to the steamship company, it is expected that before long Great Britain will be enjoying bananas and the other tropical fruits indigenous to Jamaica. Those already in the fruit business claim that the distance to England is too great for carrying perishable stuff, and that the new venture will not prove a success. Undoubtedly American investors in Cuba and Porto Rico will watch the experiment with interest; for, if the plan succeeds, there is nothing to prevent them from entering into competition with the Jamaica concern. Elder, Dempster & Co., of England, is the steamship company which will run fruit

brought to light by those in opposition to the direct line; men who believed it better to employ the subsidy money in a different manner.

Mr. George Levy, secretary of the Royal Jamaica Society of Agriculture and Commerce, in the interest of many prominent citizens, wrote Hon. Joseph Chamberlain a concise letter, in which he took exception to the expenditure of money for the direct line. While admitting that the motive which inspired the move was of the highest kind, yet he did not believe the experiment would pay. Mr. Levy then went on to show, from his point of view, that one well-regulated sugar estate gave employment to as many people as a dozen banana plantations, and that if the home government would advance money for improved machinery, etc., the old sugar industry could be revived.

But the secretary goes farther, and adds that the many tropical fruits of the island, too perishable for export, could be made valuable through the establishment of large preserve factories on the island. Included among these varieties, which never see the North in their fresh state, are guavas, mangoes, shaddock, jonblons, cashews, grenadillos, papaw, bread-fruit blossoms, ataheites, etc. In Porto Rico every one of these



THE MONGOOSE.

varieties grow in abundance, and it is not improbable that Americans with money to invest can find a good field in the new American colony by devoting their energies to the manufacture and export of preserved fruits. Since the plan is to be tried in Jamaica, notwithstanding Hon. Joseph Chamberlain has refused to assist, it will be worth while to follow the result for the benefit of others willing to try the experiment afterward. Heretofore, a number of the tropical fruits have had a preliminary treatment here, and were then shipped north for the final process and packing. It is now the purpose to prepare them for the market immediately the fruit is taken from the tree. The preserve factories, it is claimed, will also stimulate the sugar industry. At the present time there is not enough sugar-cane raised to supply the preserve factories, should it be decided to go ahead with the latter enterprise. Beet-sugar does not, it is said, give the same satisfactory result for the purpose of preserving as the cane product.

It is claimed for Porto Rico that the oranges of that island are among the finest of their kind in the world. There is a similarity between the Porto Rico orange and the Jamaica variety; and, since the tariff question is now disposed of as far as Porto Rico is concerned, Jamaicans fear that their product will be at a disadvantage in the future. The pending reciprocity treaty, it was hoped, would give the Jamaica orange a chance to compete with the California fruit. But the opposition of the West makes it evident that no new custom-rates will be made for a time to come. The Porto Rico orange, however, will find it decidedly

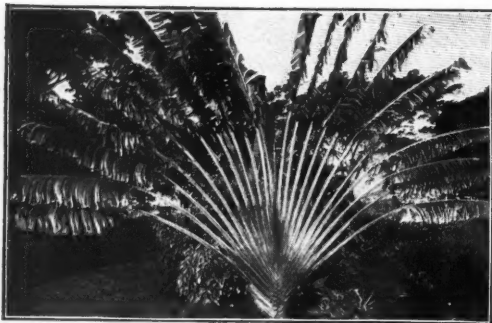
advantageous that only a 15 per cent. tariff is exacted.

The Seville orange, a product heretofore allowed to go to waste, has also entered the field as a marketable quantity. This orange is not suitable for the table, owing to its extreme acidity; but the experiments which have gone on for some time show that the Seville orange is excellent as a marmalade. This variety grows wild all over the island, and it is now the purpose to make use of what was formerly allowed to rot on the ground. Perhaps the new-comers in Porto Rico would do well to watch their own interests in that island by paying attention to the Seville orange, which also is indigenous to the Porto Rican soil.

The agricultural features of Jamaica cannot be disposed of without due reference to the part played by the mongoose. Some years ago, the cane-fields became infested with snakes and rats to such an extent that drastic measures had to be employed in order to rid the country of the pests. It was decided that the mongoose would do the work, and accordingly the mongoose was imported. The animal went to work with a will, and soon there was scarcely a snake left on the island. The rats, likewise, were driven from the fields; but, taking refuge in the cocoanut trees, the rodents began to do that damage to the nut which ever since has been such a drawback to the raising of cocoanuts. But the mongoose did worse than this. The moment the animal found no more snakes and rats to feed upon, it attacked the ground-laying birds, de-



A CORNER IN A PINE FIELD.



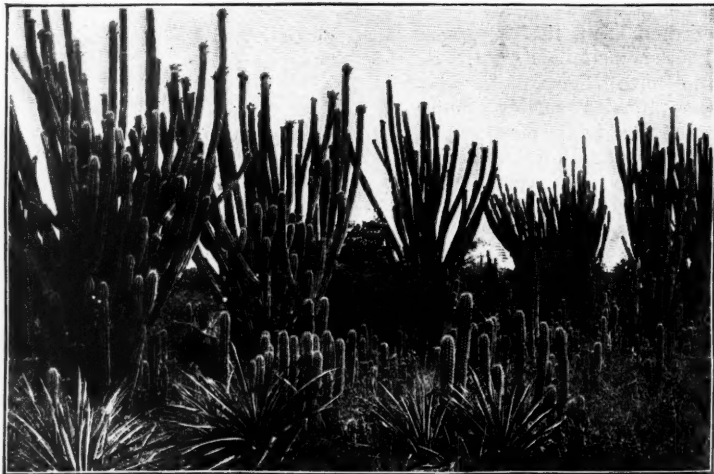
TRAVELER'S PALM.

stroying them and their eggs as well. These birds had heretofore been invaluable to the country, because they lived upon the pestiferous tick which is such a nuisance to man and cattle. With the disappearance of the birds, the ticks increased enormously, and now, in their turn, they are attacking the mongoose. Raisers of poultry in Jamaica would consider it a blessing if every mongoose were swept off the island. When the animal had succeeded in doing away with the snakes, and made the rats seek safety in the cocoanut trees, it went for the chickens. Naturally, prices rose skyward, and it was considered a luxury to have poultry on the table. With the destruction which the tick now does to the young mongoose, it is said by those who know that the ground-laying birds are once more appearing, and it is further suggested that more birds should be imported. The cattle-owners will welcome the feathered agency that formerly minimized the effect of the ticks by feeding on these insects. With the introduction of sugar-cane in Cuba and Porto Rico, the identical destructive conditions are likely to confront the planters there; but since Americans, with experience bought in Jamaica, are at the head of the enterprises in the other islands, it is unlikely that the mongoose will be imported, even though rats might appear numerically strong enough to warrant drastic measures of extermination. Care will be exercised in the selection of an antidote. As far as the mongoose is concerned, a recent act of Congress prohibits the importation of the animal into the United

States or its colonies. Hawaii, where the mongoose was introduced in 1881, passed a similar law in 1892. The history of the mongoose in the British colony may stand for some lesson in agricultural experience.

It is quite pertinent to the general situation to take a glance at the career of the Hon. David Sampson Gideon. Not yet forty years of age, to him is due in a large measure the energetic action of the elected members of the legislative body. Mr. Gideon was born in New York City, during a visit which his mother, a native of Jamaica, paid the metropolis. His American birthplace appealed so forcibly to the member from Portland Parish that when, during the war with Spain, he held the office of Spanish consul at Port Antonio, Mr. Gideon resigned the position rather than represent a country at odds with the land where first he saw the light of day. Then, at liberty to act freely, he assisted the United States in many ways. The representatives of American newspapers, who made their headquarters at Port Antonio during the early days of hostilities, will not soon forget the many kind offices tendered them at the hand of this enterprising Americanized Jamaican.

Mr. Gideon was a conspicuous member of the delegation which went to Washington in the interest of the Jamaica reciprocity treaty. As for the ultimate fate of the treaty now hanging fire in the Senate, in common with other leading Jamaicans, he has but little hope that it will be ratified soon. Since the earlier days of the treaty negotiations, the vexatious West India problem has intensified so that none know what commercial arrangements can now be perfected.



CACTUS AS IT GROWS IN JAMAICA.

Everything depends on the Cuban issues, and whether independence is soon granted the island or not.

Perhaps it may be argued that the vicissitudes of Jamaica relative to its decline as a paying colony has nothing to do with the interrogative

that they had been the means of saving Jamaica to the Jamaicans. It was his urgent desire to see American capital come to the island, and he said that every facility possible would be given the investors. Of course, the governor was anxious to have the reciprocity treaty become operative, so that the market in the United States would be still easier of access.



SUGAR-CANE CLEANERS.

caption of the present article. Nevertheless, a stay in the island will soon convince the observer that politics and affairs of the soil go hand in hand in Jamaica. It is impossible to disassociate the present political imbroglio from the unsatisfactory condition which prevails among the populace in general. The elected members of the Legislative Council are the representatives of the people. Until this body enters into some sort of agreement with the Government members, the agricultural interests of the country will suffer severely. At the present moment, the government of the island is purely one emanating from the Crown.

The writer interviewed Governor Hemming on the conditions of the island, but Sir Augustus seemed exceedingly guarded in his answer relative to political affairs. Claiming that it was absolutely necessary to raise the revenue needed for the purpose of carrying on the government, he evaded the questions pertinent to taxation. The governor is now in Europe on leave of absence, and seems to have turned over everything to the acting colonial secretary, Hon. Sidney Olivier, who, arriving in Jamaica some months ago, is looked upon as able to solve the financial problem. But when Governor Hemming was asked what he had to say about the Americans in Jamaica, he grew enthusiastic, and stated with considerable emphasis

Jamaica lie colonies, both American and European, which, with the republics of Haiti and San Domingo, must enter into some sort of mutual understanding, with the United States as the common center of attraction.

"The political situation," Mr. Gideon said, when called upon by the writer, "allows of considerable guesswork as to the ultimate fate of the legislative body. It is quite true that the elected members have refused to legislate with the members appointed by the Crown. The political history of Jamaica shows no more unjust treatment than that which was accorded the people's representatives prior to the day when we left the council chambers *en masse*. The whole trouble revolves around the question whether the people ought to have a hand in the government or not. The Imperial Government, you must know, appoints ten members from among its officials, while there are fourteen elected members. But a certain clause permits the home government to add four more officials to its list in case it becomes absolutely necessary to the stability of the island. This was done some months ago. We objected, because we did not think the occasion demanded such action. But the result was that certain measures affecting taxation went through. We were at the mercy of the government body, which, with the governor as the deciding vote, naturally defeated our ob-

It stands to reason that the conditions which confront a British colony and a colony under the jurisdiction of the United States cannot be identical. But since both Porto Rico and Jamaica produce the identical fruits for export,—since both islands lie in the West Indies and must seek the same markets,—it will easily be understood that in time to come a certain uniformity must take effect as regards the business relations with the United States.

Between the British possession of the Barbados and

jection. The home government acted in a spirit of arrogance; but, notwithstanding this, I believe that the coming election will confirm the faith of the people in their representatives. It is a perplexing matter to give colonists a government that will work equally well all around; but



HON. D. S. GIDEON.

(Member of the Legislative Council from Portland Parish.)

the United States, in its treatment of her new-found colonies, will undoubtedly set an example that the British Government cannot fail to profit by, if studied conscientiously. For this reason we are watching events in Porto Rico with absorbing interest. The tariff arrangements; the official *régime* there, as well as in Cuba; the vigorous measures employed by the United States in punishing unfaithful officials; the future of the Cubans as a self-governing people,—all this affects us much more than the average person would believe. As a representative of this island, I certainly look for object lessons when once the United States gets down to real business in its colonies.

"On the other hand, why could not the United States profit by our past experience as well? The matter of taxation is always one of the questions uppermost; and the citizens of the republic, as well as the colonist, need to guard their individual interests. It is an unsafe measure to rob Peter in order to pay Paul."

Mr. Gideon, undoubtedly, gave vent to the last sentence as the result of a sentiment now prevalent on the island, which has its origin

among the very few manufacturing interests in the colony. It is claimed by those directly affected that, when the colonial government now and then protects a certain industry by raising the import duty on the respective commodity to be manufactured, immediately it sees its revenue cut down through a smaller importation it places an additional tariff on the local manufacturer. Whatever merit this argument may contain, it is quite certain that the people will not pay more for the home-made article than it can be bought for abroad. The result is that the manufacturer gives up in disgust, the government gets its former revenue through import duties, and matters remain about as they were. There will have to be a radical change in the island before anything like a satisfactory condition will obtain.

As a lesson for the United States to profit by, the government of Jamaica may well stand as an example of how things colonial should not be done. This lesson has, however, its beneficial results—equal almost to that which success teaches. That government undoubtedly is the safest which can both teach a lesson and learn by the experience of others.



SAGO-PALM.

THE RISE OF GOLF IN AMERICA.

BY PRICE COLLIER.

GOLF in Scotland is first a game, then an avocation, then a tyranny. It promised at the start to gain some such hold here. There were several reasons for this. We began playing golf at a time when business was dull, when money was dear, and when people were talking of hard times. The expensive sports—yachting, polo, hunting, racing, shooting—were more or less in abeyance. Men were glad to take up with some



Reproduced from "Golf." Courtesy of Harper & Brothers.

TACOMA GOLF CLUB, TACOMA, WASHINGTON.

less extravagant form of amusement. Golf came to the rescue. There are many men and women in this country who now for the first time have a certain amount of leisure. They are too old to start hunting or yachting, too stiff to begin tennis, and golf offered itself as a combination of croquet, pedestrianism, and club swinging that appealed to the middle aged duffer. There are over 13,000,000 deposit accounts in our banks to-day; our exports exceed in value our imports by millions of dollars; we are taking up British and German loans, and asking for more, and we are borrowing money, as a nation, cheaper than any other country in the world. This, translated, means leisure! It means a greatly increased number of people who have something to spare, after food and fire and shelter are paid for, for amusement, or study, or sport. Much more attention is paid to hygiene. We eat more fruit and fewer buckwheat cakes; more vegetables and cereals, and less meat; we drink less whisky, gin, and rum, and more light wines and beer. We think more of bathing and out-of-door exercise. We were a comparatively poor people in 1850. We had a terrible war in 1860, with a million and more men killed and invalided. From 1870 to 1890 we

were recovering, growing—getting our second wind.

All this was propitious for golf. From 1893 on, golfers and golf-links increased so rapidly that many people prophesied disaster. It was a passing whim; it would die out, they said. But it was not golf alone which was at the bottom of this sudden and widespread love of out-of-door sport. We as a people were ready for some such invitation. It could not have happened in 1860, nor in 1870. This mad chase after gutta-percha balls, with shepherd-crook-looking weapons, by men and women of all ages, from fifteen to sixty, has its rational sanction.

We have much Saxon blood; we are of the race that loves exercise and physical excitement. Once the Indians and the wild beasts were disposed of, and we had built our roads and bridges, our houses and our granaries, we turned naturally to some other form of wrestling with nature. In its last analysis, sport is nothing but that. It is artificial war. Men must fight to live, and as the spiritual fighting alone is hazy and discouraging to most men, they must needs supplement the struggle with tangible foes. When the worry and the war of our first settling here were over, we turned to sport with our surplus leisure. Sport follows the surplus. Money, in its last

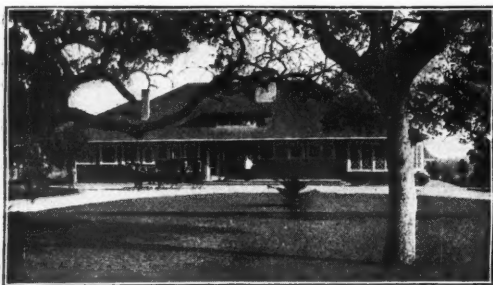


Reproduced from "Golf." Courtesy of Harper & Brothers.

KEBO VALLEY GOLF CLUB, BAR HARBOR, MAINE.

analysis, is merely leisure; leisure is choice, and choice is time. When a man says he has no time for some particular thing, he merely means that he prefers to do something else, or must do something else, for we all have all the time there is.

We in the United States have reached a con-

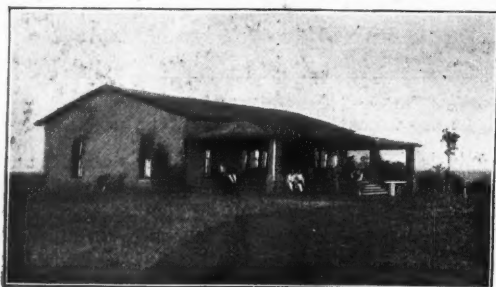


PASADENA COUNTRY CLUB, CALIFORNIA.

dition of prosperity when we can choose—when we are not forced to hammer and shovel and shoot to keep ourselves sheltered and fed. Golf, then, is not necessarily a fad at all. It is a very agreeable, wholesome, and suitable way of spending our surplus of time and energy.

Some call it "goluf," some call it "goff," and some call it "gowf!" A certain gentleman was taken to task by Dr. Parr for pronouncing the ancient capital of Egypt Alexandria, and quoted as his authority Dr. Bentley. "Dr. Bentley and I," replied Dr. Parr, "may call it Alexandria, but I think you had better call it Alexandria." The word "golf" has a Dutch ancestry, and without much doubt comes from the Dutch "kolf," meaning "club." As early as 1618 the importation of golf-balls from Holland into Scotland aroused the ire of that parsimonious sovereign, James VI., then James I. of England, and he did what he could to prohibit it. The man, therefore, who depends upon the most ancient traditions for his pronunciation of the word had best study the Dutch pronunciation of the word "kolf." But even then, mindful of Dr. Parr's rebuke to his priggish friend, it were as well not to shock too rudely the usage of our native land, and to pronounce it something between "goluf" and "gowf," with a touch of nasality!

The steeplechase of to-day, over a prepared



SINNISSIPPI GOLF CLUB, JANESVILLE, WIS.

course, with the walls, water-jumps, and hurdles all carefully measured, is far removed from the steeplechase from which it gets its name. Then, the steeplechase was a race across country, each man taking his own line for the church-steeple, which could be seen for miles the country round.

Golf began in the same way. It was a ball and a stick; and who could get it to the church-door, in the center of the town, in the fewest strokes. Then some one made a club especially adapted to this purpose, and the game came to be called by the name of the principal weapon used.

That the game deserves its title of "ancient and royal," there can be no question. As early as the middle of the fifteenth century, Scotland suffered from the fact that her youths played golf instead of exercising with the long-bow; and the



THE TOWN AND COUNTRY CLUB, ST. PAUL, MINN.

Scotch Parliament decreed that "golf be utterly crijit down and nocht usit!" At the very beginning of the sixteenth century Edinburgh passed rigid laws prohibiting golf on Sundays; but shortly after there was a compromise, and the prohibition was cannily restricted to "sermon time." Let us remember, however, that the century of John Knox knew nothing of the fashionable sermonette of eighteen minutes which is now the herald of an effeminate homiletics. Sermon time in those days probably left little time for more than one good round during the day.

The game was introduced into England when King James VI. of Scotland came south as King James I. of England, bringing with him his Scotch followers. They soon began playing their national game, and at Blackheath, and at



COUNTRY CLUB OF ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

Wimbledon, are two of the oldest golf clubs in the kingdom.

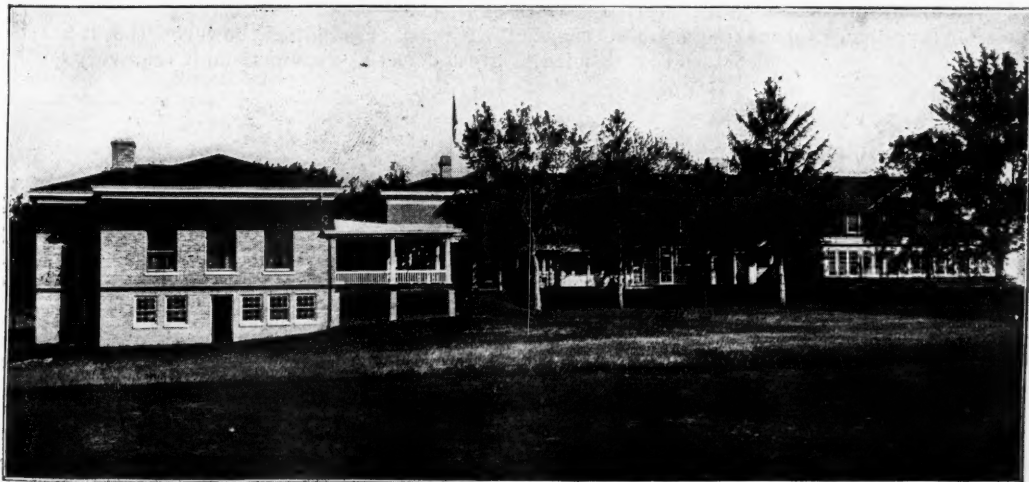
From this small beginning golf has grown to be as popular south of the Tweed as north of it, and it is estimated that there are now as many as a thousand or more golf clubs in England. From England the game has been carried by the English soldiers, sailors, and settlers to almost every part of the globe, and you may find use for a bag of golf-clubs practically everywhere, from Hongkong to San Francisco, from Quebec to New Zealand.

Mr. Horace Hutchinson, who has done for golf what Gilbert White did for Selborne, told me that he paid a visit to the United States some time about 1888. At what was then the Meadowbrook Hunt Club, on Long Island, he tried, by persuasion and by illustration, to show the charm of the game to a few men there.

They were not enthusiastic about it, he said, and looked upon it, apparently, as rather an effeminate and distinctly dull form of sport. Where the first golf was played in this country, it is difficult to determine. Both in the West and in the East, there are claimants for the honor. One of the first, if not the first club, with a course of any pretension to length and quality, was the St. Andrews Club, presided over by Mr. John Reid.

Since 1893, however, the game has grown greatly in favor, and during the five following years golf-courses good, bad, and indifferent have been laid out all over the country. There are links, like those at Newport, where no expense has been spared, and links laid out as late as this summer in New England villages along the coast, where the mosquitoes buzz in ecstasies over the fresh importations of human flesh into their salt-marshes. On the 1st of January, 1899, there were 887 golf clubs in the United States, 154 of them west of the Mississippi River. A fair estimate places the number of members of these clubs at about 175,000.

The game has one peculiarity shared by no other game. You do not play against the powers of your opponent—you play against an inanimate, will-less, unprejudiced gutta-percha ball. Your opponent never interferes with you, may not even speak or move while you are playing. The good and the evil are in yourself alone. You contribute all the energy, all the waywardness, all the accuracy, and all the inexplicable vagaries to the ball. The game is one of the best tests of self-control, because it has that unique factor: you are left, after each



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CHICAGO GOLF CLUB, WHEATON, ILL.



BETHLEHEM PARK ASSOCIATION, BETHLEHEM, N. H.



FLORIDA COUNTRY CLUB, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

stroke, with no one to blame but yourself. At polo your opponent rides you off, at tennis your opponent places out of your reach, at football every man's hand is against you the moment you have the ball. You have in every other game another man's temper and skill, another man's temperament and will, to overcome. At golf you play against yourself, no matter who your opponent may be.

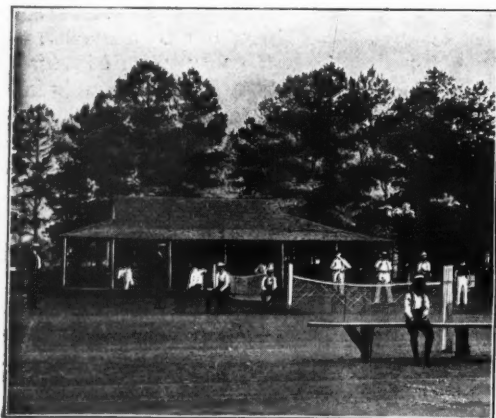
As a result of this, it is a game that appeals to men and women of every degree of physical and mental ability. It is a game, too, that may be played between opponents of all degrees of difference of skill. It is easy to handicap yourself against a small rubber ball; it is never easy to handicap one man against another man. The man has a temperament, the ball has none. You can play with your children, or you can play with Mr. Travis, and you can get a good game in either case.

If you handicap a man at court-tennis, or racquets, or lawn-tennis, or make him bat at cricket with one hand, or play at baseball left-handed,

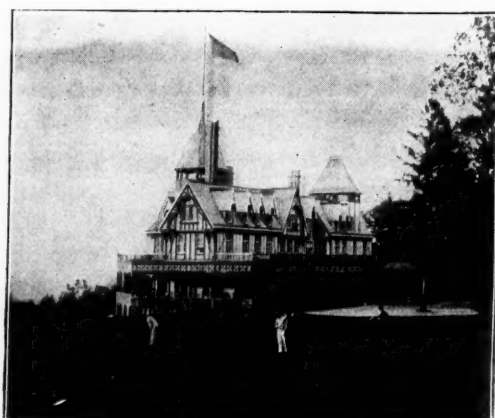
you cripple him. He is not playing his game, or even *the* game; but at golf Mr. Travis may play his best game, and Mr. Duffer may play his game, and both may have a hard match, by proper handicapping. Then, again, golf is not an expensive game, as games go. Once you have supplied yourself with clubs and balls, and joined a golf club, the running expense of the game is not excessive.

These, in my humble opinion, are some of the reasons why golf has become so popular. First, we were ready for it. We had surplus time and money, and we had our racial surplus of physical energy. Second, it is a most adaptable game—suited to all ages, and of such character that it is easy to make an interesting game between opponents of widely differing degrees of skill. Third, it is not expensive, and when it is remembered that it keeps a man moving in the open air, the return in health makes it, in reality, very inexpensive.

It must be admitted, however, that it has one great defect as a *sport*, though that very quality



MONTGOMERY TENNIS AND GOLF CLUB, ALABAMA.



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ARDSLEY CASINO, NEW YORK.



WYOMING VALLEY COUNTRY CLUB, WILKESBARRE, PA.



COUNTRY CLUB OF KANSAS CITY, MO.

is its best feature as a *game*. It lacks the excitement and dash, and what may be called the old-Adam quality, of a struggle against a live opponent. The horse that refuses his jump, the man with his shoulder against you at football, with his gloves in your face at boxing, or placing the ball away from you at tennis,—that, after all, is the tempting, exciting quality in sport. One man against another, or a man controlling a brute, or hunting a wild beast,—these, after all, will be considered higher forms of sport than a game that lacks that factor of a personal, conscious, changing, struggling, and live opponent.

This is nothing against the game; on the contrary, this is what makes it so easily adaptable to the amusement needs of all sorts and conditions of men. Only it may be said that schoolboys, though they may play it, had better be about better business for their years. They should be playing the games and exercising at the sports where elastic bones and supple muscles are absolutely essential. You can learn to play golf at thirty, and championship golf at that, as has been proved repeatedly both here and in Great Britain; but thirty is late, too late, often, for many other games. On the other hand, no man who has any physical prowess left is too old to play golf, for the reason before mentioned—viz., he need not be forever looking for an opponent of equal skill or unskillfulness; he need only ask for as many strokes a hole as are necessary to make a good contest of the match.

The tournament side of the game, except as

a very rare test, is the least important, and probably the most pernicious element in the game. There was no amateur tournament in England until 1885, at Hoylake. The spring and autumn meetings at St. Andrews, with a medal of small value as the prize, and minor and very occasional meetings at other clubs,—that was all the tournament element there was, and, be it said, all there ought to be. We ought to know who the best amateur and the best professional players are each year. They, if they can, too, ought to go about a bit, playing on stranger links. But the mug-hunting, and the newspaper flapdoodle, and the innumerable tournaments, are far away from the simplicity and the charm



Reproduced from "Golf." Courtesy of Harper & Brothers.

LAKEWOOD GOLF CLUB, LAKEWOOD, N. J.

of the old game. Let each club have its club championship, and, say, one big event open to outsiders if it be a really first-class links; but the whole spirit of the game, and much of its value as wholesome exercise, are gone when men play it for the notoriety it brings rather than for

its own sake. If "glory, and your mug in the newspaper," as my old commander phrased it, is what you are after, either in war or in sport, then the sooner you take off the shoulder-straps and put away your golf-clubs the better for you, and the better for the war and the sport as well.

Golf is too good a game, and a game too dependent upon good manners and absolute fairness in playing it, to be sullied by the semi-professional mug-hunter. Men who are liable to sudden attacks of arithmetical paresis should be barred out ruthlessly. Only the other day, at a tournament where the prizes were very valuable silver cups, men handed in scores who did not



Reproduced from "Golf." Courtesy of Harper & Brothers.

HAMPTON ROADS COUNTY GOLF CLUB.
(Old Point Comfort, Va.)

hole out every ball; and in the medal-play rounds, men were seen playing for the hole with the partner's ball left lying in a position to give them the line for the hole. There are men who are notorious for their breaches of the etiquette of the game—laughing, talking, moving about, when the adversary is about to play; walking on, after playing one's own shot, heedless of the opponent who is about to play. These are all rowdy tricks, or, to put the best face upon them, selfish and unsportsmanlike actions, so subversive of the spirit of the game that the guilty ones should be summarily dealt with. The comfort and pleasure of playing are dependent upon the good manners and good temper of your opponent. This is true of golf as of no other game; and it cannot be repeated too often, nor insisted upon too forcibly, that the manners of the bumpkin and the methods of the "sport" make golf as unlike golf as thunder makes milk unlike milk. They turn the game sour.

Within certain very broad limits, there are rules about stance and grip and swing, about length and weight and shape of club, about playing with and against the wind, that should be heeded by every player. On the other hand, it should never be forgotten that there is no



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NASSAU COUNTRY CLUB, GLEN COVE, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

absolute standard in any of these matters. Ben Sayers puts with a cleek nearly as long as he is. Mr. Travis puts with a club so short that he can hold it straight up and down between his eye and his toes. Big men have won the championship both here and in Great Britain, and small men have done the same thing. Men who have played from boyhood play well and have a distinct advantage. On the other hand, Mr. Travis began playing golf in 1896, when he was past thirty. You cannot put your body into a strait-jacket of rules and learn to play a great game of golf. Rules and advice are useful, but they are not infallible. The great French preacher, Père Hyacinthe, used to say: "I believe, with Plato, that the man is not the body; he is the fellow



Reproduced from "Golf." Courtesy of Harper & Brothers.

WASHINGTON, D. C., CLUB-HOUSE.

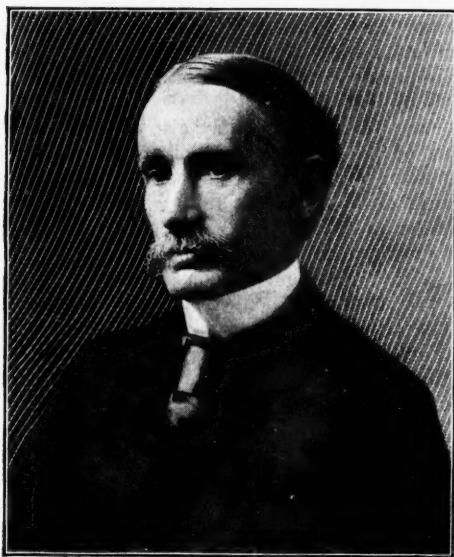
who has the body!" It is that "fellow" who wins or loses at golf, and who wins or loses at everything else. Train him! One of the best ways to train him is to teach him to play golf like a gentleman.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE LATEST PHASE OF THE TRUST PROBLEM.

AN unusually lucid statement of the trust problem in its most recent phase is contained in a brief article contributed to *Gunton's Magazine* for September by Prof. John B. Clark, of Columbia University.

Starting with the assumptions that the trusts are here to stay, and that "laws that aim to break up great corporations into smaller ones will not be workable," since production on a great scale



PROF. JOHN BATES CLARK.

is economical and the economical establishments must survive, Professor Clark reasons that our great industries need the spur of competition. "The condition that is really to be dreaded is that in which a monopoly holds the field, curtails production, lowers wages, and raises prices, while letting its own methods become inefficient and while still keeping out of the field concerns that have better methods."

FACTORS' AGREEMENTS.

Efficient producers may be driven from the field by those less efficient through the operation of what is known as the "factors' agreement."

"A trust may have control of certain brands of goods that a retailer positively needs. It may then insist that he agree to buy no goods of this general kind except from itself. It may hold

over his head the threat to withdraw from him the agency for the selling of its own goods, in case he violates such an agreement. The independent producer is then comparatively helpless. He may offer goods equal in quality to those made by the trust, and may offer them at a lower price; but the retailer cannot afford to handle them. If he deals in them at all, he risks either losing altogether the agency for certain indispensable goods or losing the discount that other dealers receive; for the trust may content itself with punishing him by a reduction of his trade discount.

"How can such a difficulty be met? If a law could be enforced that should compel a trust to sell its products to all cash customers, in the order in which they might apply for them, it is clear that the factors' agreement would be a thing of the past. It is probably illegal now; and, if so, all that is needed is to make the present law effective."

UNIFORM PRICES.

Another expedient sometimes adopted by a trust to stop rivalry is to put prices below cost in the particular section of country where the independent company operates, while sustaining them elsewhere. To meet this injustice, Professor Clark advocates the enforcement of a law requiring a uniform scale of prices for customers in all sections of the country.

"An independent company may make only one variety of goods, and may sell it in many parts of the country. The trust may then crush such a company by reducing everywhere the price of this one variety of goods and sustaining the prices of other varieties. This would be precluded if a law could be made and enforced that should take account, not only of the price of one variety of goods, but of a scale of prices for all goods of one general kind, and should forbid the disproportionate reduction of the price of one variety for obviously predatory purposes. Lawyers will pronounce all such statutes difficult to make and more difficult to execute. They may regard the last of those here suggested as altogether impracticable; and I am far from claiming that the policy that is here outlined is easy of execution. Very grave are the economic difficulties in the way of it; and, though this paper must be too brief to discuss them, I wish to record the opinion that this general type of price-regulation will tax severely the legislative and administrative powers of government. It

will be difficult even to begin experiments in this direction until the people shall have canvassed all the various possibilities of trust legislation, and shall have come to this one unalterable conclusion: that the great corporations must exist, and that they must not be allowed to establish monopoly prices. Concede that trusts are to continue, that they are to make a large proportion of our products, that their inclination is to become true monopolies and that such monopolies would be intolerable, and you will have reached the point where you will expend all needed energy in protecting the independent producer. You will not be deterred by difficulties. Having to choose between what seems impossible and what is really unbearable, you will take the former alternative, and, by heroic effort, will bring the seemingly impossible to pass."

IS "BRYANISM" SOCIALISTIC?

THE opening article of the September *Arena* is a discriminating answer to the question, "Is Socialism an Element of 'Bryanism'?" The writer, Mr. Albert Watkins, of Lincoln, Neb., has long been a neighbor of Mr. Bryan, and has watched his political course from the beginning, although himself occupying a conservative position—at least, on the silver question.

Taking the demand of the political socialists for "redistribution of the land and of all means of production, transportation, and distribution to the people as a collective body" as a fair expression of the modern socialistic programme, Mr. Watkins has no difficulty in showing that the farmers of Kansas, Nebraska, South Carolina, Texas, and other States, who rolled up the great Bryan majorities of 1896 were far from socialistic in creed or aims. Neither the Populist nor the Democratic platform of that year advocated any form of socialism. Why, then, have such tendencies been imputed to the Bryan movement? The assertion seems to get most of its color from the planks favoring government ownership of railroads.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF TRANSPORTATION.

On this point, Mr. Watkins says:

"State ownership of railways is persistently bundled up with the tenets of socialism by writers against 'Bryanism.' It is advocated by Populists, who are mainly farmers and owners of their farms, with an anti-socialist end in view. The almost exclusively agricultural States are their strongholds, and these are great distances from the general market to which the vast surplus of their staple products must be transported by the railways. In the sharp competition with

like products of the whole world, the cost of this transportation is of vital interest to these Western farmers. Long experience has convinced them, rightly or wrongly, that relief from excessive and inequitable freight charges, to say nothing of the inevitable pernicious influence of private railway corporations in politics, can be secured only through public ownership of the railways. They believe that this is necessary to successful private ownership of their farms, the private ownership of railways being naturally monopolistic and incompatible with the principle or practice of competition. The long-standing examples of public ownership of railways in the countries of Continental Europe have not been regarded as socialistic; on the contrary, this policy is generally regarded by its advocates as a necessary expedient for insuring the free play of competition in other industries—in short, as a defense, instead of an invasion, of the competitive system.

"These exceptions apply also to the classification of public ownership of municipal lighting-plants, water-works, and street railways as socialism. This policy is quite generally in vogue in countries where the competitive system is most firmly established and has the freest exercise, and it is upheld by conservative statesmen and parliamentary bodies. It appears to be growing in favor among all classes. The English Parliament, for example, has restricted the conditions under which tramway and municipal lighting companies may be chartered, with the intention of facilitating the assumption of these functions by the municipalities themselves."

Furthermore, Mr. Watkins asks, if public ownership of railways is to be condemned because it is socialistic, what is to become of our post-office and even of our public-school system? The whole matter resolves itself into, "a question of utility, of expediency, of progress."

MR. BRYAN AN INDIVIDUALIST.

Mr. Watkins' idea of Bryan as a social agitator is certainly quite different from the notion persistently retained in some parts of the country since 1896, by many Democrats as well as Republicans. He declares that Bryan is an individualist:

"Whatever may be said of Mr. Bryan's audacious opportunism, of the facility with which he catches political sentiment of the hour and turns it to his own account, yet he undoubtedly retains the traditional or instinctive spirit of individualism inherited from a Democratic ancestry; and this quality still inheres in the Democratic party in the main. Having observed Mr. Bryan's political beginnings and evolution, or, as others

would put it, his evolutions, from the standpoint of a near neighbor, I have no doubt that he is a positive anti-socialist. And, whatever his political eccentricities, he is not a radical."

"The great body of Mr. Bryan's supporters—the farmers of the West and South—have no thought of instituting or advancing socialism. On the contrary, they are in a campaign for overcoming obstacles to competition and individualism in all the ordinary industrial pursuits. Free silver has been virtually dropped; or, more accurately, it has fallen by its own weight. But it may be consistently and plausibly contended that it would be unwise to put 'Bryanism' in power next fall, because it would be unwise to seem to encourage a revival of the silver question, which will be a nominal, though it cannot be made a real, issue in the campaign; or because business, so lately recovered from prostration, might shrink in timid fear of the radicalism which has been so much exploited, or of any political change whatever; or because the cause of civil-service reform might fare even worse than it has fared under the present, or would fare under a succeeding, Republican administration. For 'Bryanism,' standing as it does for the extension of government business, is singularly if not wantonly inconsistent in refusing, by its attitude of devotion to Jacksonian spoils, to make rational preparation for increased governmental functions. The fear expressed in some quarters that, in the hands of an administration characterized by Mr. Bryan's facile opportunism, the reforms that he and his party stand for would be set back rather than forwarded, may be worthy of consideration. But with its chief strength in the great agricultural region of the country, where its partisans are prosperously paying off mortgages and adding to their broad acres, is not the seat of 'Bryanism' in fact at the antipodes of socialism? Thus far, radical, paternalistic, or socialistic laws are only on the statute-books of those States which are relied upon to go most strongly against Bryan."

HOW POLITICAL DISCUSSION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED.

IN *Modern Culture* (formerly *Self-Culture Magazine*) for September, Dr. Edwin Maxey makes some pertinent and timely remarks on "Methods in Political Discussion." This writer has scant respect for the nature of the propaganda commonly employed in our "campaign of education," so called. He says:

"The two great factors in a political campaign are the press and the platform; and, as we are now inquiring into the motives of politi-

cal parties, we will primarily consider the character of the emanations from each which are avowedly controlled by the political parties. If the reader will examine the campaign 'literature' printed and distributed under the supervision of the party leaders, and paid for out of campaign funds, he will find that very little of it is written in the spirit of one who aims at discovering and imparting the whole truth; nor, indeed, is it intended that it should be, by those who furnish the sinews of war. I maintain that what is aimed at in the bulk of political literature is the bending of the truth to meet particular ends, and not a candid attempt to put the reader in possession of the facts on both sides of the question, upon which the correct conclusion must rest. Some of the political literature does not even stop at the suppression of truth, but gives publication to naked falsehood, which is naturally the next step in the descending scale. Yet however indicative of degradation it may be, the 'dirty sheet' is not nearly so insidious in its effects as the ingenious presentation of garbled truths; for, in the former, falsehood appears in her native garb, and, being readily recognized, is shunned except by the most unwary or perverse; while, in the latter, the charms of truth and art combine to mislead, and often do mislead, all save the most judicial minds. Facts and figures are often quoted freely; but very frequently such facts and figures serve to bewilder and mislead rather than to instruct and assist in arriving at a just conclusion. We are not indulging in metaphor when we say that carloads of literature are sent out which can have no other purpose than to appeal to the prejudices and passions of any who may waste their time in reading such veritable rubbish."

CAMPAIGN ORATORY.

Dr. Maxey finds quite as much to condemn in the methods of the campaign orator:

"Were any one to talk to us about our business affairs in the claptrap manner in which the average 'spellbinder' talks to us about our political affairs, our patience would be exhausted with a rapidity worthy of the emergency. Why it is that we tolerate—nay, even applaud—such departures from the canons of logic and rules of plain common sense, simply because the speaker is talking politics, is of the inconsistencies of human kind which is more easily discovered than accounted for. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the idea seems to prevail that in political discussion the ordinary laws of thought may be safely disregarded. And thus politics, which in its very nature demands the most careful and practical thinking, has become the field wherein

the mental acrobat displays his pranks to the great delectation of his partisan followers.

"In all sober discussion the object should be to subordinate minor differences of opinion in order to arrive at the central truth; but in politics the order is reversed, and what is sought after most zealously and emphasized most decidedly is *differences*; and what is avoided with the utmost care is a harmonizing of the views held by the respective parties. Upon most questions of far-reaching importance there is abundant room for honest differences of opinion upon points that are fundamental to a decision of the question; but there is no rational justification for magnifying minor differences which really amount to very little, and ingeniously creating differences which have no foundation in fact. Yet these methods are fancied necessary in order to accentuate the multiplicity of respects in which one party is superior to the opposing party. It is for this same reason that personalities which really have no connection with a candidate's fitness or unfitness are injected into political discussions. Unfortunately, these tactics are not monopolized by that class of political speakers commonly denominated 'curbstone orators,' but are too often and freely used by those who aspire to be statesmen. If the reader will but take an inventory of the political discussions which he has heard during 'campaigns of education,' by men high in the political councils of the nation, he will be pained to recall that many of them have appealed to prejudice and not to reason, and in so doing have gone a long way toward preventing sober thought, and thus disqualifying the people for grave, sensible consideration of the real question at issue."

VOTING BY MAIL.

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, there is an interesting suggestion by Mr. Edward Stanwood, that voting should be done by mail as well as by personal appearance at the polls. Mr. Stanwood argues that the most direct cause of the evils of our political activities is the indisposition of the very best class of citizens to attend the polls in person—an indisposition often owing to legitimate causes; and he thinks it absurd that a man should be prevented from giving his vote because he had sprained his ankle, or because business engagements were so important that he could not be present at a certain place in a certain city on a certain day. He anticipates the objections to such a novel plan. These are chiefly, he thinks, that the mail-system of voting would destroy the secrecy of the ballot; that it would increase the danger of personating

voters; and that it would add to the power of the boss. But in Mr. Stanwood's opinion the danger of personating voters would be really diminished by a system by which men might mail their votes, or vote in person, as they chose. Signing a vote with another person's name would be not merely the offense in law which it now is, but would also be a forgery; and, as part of the scheme is that postal-cards should be sent to voters acknowledging the receipt of their votes, he thinks there would be less personation under his system than under the present. As to the secrecy of the ballot, he thinks that if one had good reasons for wishing to have his vote secret, he would simply not use the mails, but would appear at the polls; and he does not admit there is any valid objection to the plan except that it would augment somewhat the power of bosses and the danger of bribery, owing to the possibility of proving so readily how any particular vote was cast. Mr. Stanwood definitely outlines his plan as follows:

THE METHOD IN DETAIL.

"It is proposed that, as now, all elections be by 'Australian' ballot; that prior to any election the ballot shall be printed a sufficient time—say one week—before the time when the votes are to be counted, to allow the operation of the system; that one ballot, and one only, be distributed by mail or by an officer to each registered voter; that any voter may mark and sign his ballot, inclose it in an envelope addressed to the election officers and indorsed with the signature of the voter, and that it may be sent by mail or by private messenger to the officers of the election at any time prior to the formal closing of the polls; that on the day set for the election the polls shall be opened in the usual way, and that all voters who desire to do so may appear and deposit their ballots in person; that the last-named privilege may be exercised by those who have as well as by those who have not already voted by mail; that each person voting in person shall be checked upon the registry-list as having voted; that when the polls shall have been closed the election officers shall take the envelopes containing votes received by mail and shall carefully compare the indorsements with the names checked upon the registry-lists, separate those votes of persons who have from those who have not afterward voted in person, open those of persons who have not appeared at the polls, count their votes with those which were cast in person, and declare the result upon the combined vote." Immediately after the votes are counted, notices are to be mailed to each voter, acknowledging and specifying the ballot received.

A PROVISION AGAINST FRAUD.

"In order to guard against fraud, it would be provided that all ballots transmitted by mail, including those superseded by personal votes, and therefore not opened, should be preserved until all contests arising out of the election have been decided; and that immediately after the votes were counted, or on the day following, a postal-card or other mail notice should be sent to each person registered as having voted by mail that he was recorded as having so voted. The object of such notice will be seen readily. It would be possible for an unscrupulous person, A, who knew or surmised that B would not vote, to take the ballot supplied to himself, mark it, forge B's signature, and send in the ballot by mail, and then go himself and vote in person. The notice to B would enable B to defeat the fraud by declaring that he had not voted. Should any one obtain possession of B's blank ballot, fill it out and send it in, B would miss his ballot, would suspect wrongdoing, and would go to the polls and vote in person."

THE FILIPINOS AND INDEPENDENCE.

"THE Filipinos' Vain Hope of Independence" is the title of an article in the *North American Review* for September by Marion Wilcox, who has made a special study of the allegations freely made by many American "anti-imperialists," that Aguinaldo was promised independence by United States officials in 1898. The basis of these allegations is defined by Mr. Wilcox as follows:

"The comments of those whose sympathy with the natives' aspirations or whose antagonism to the administration gives them the character of advocates, rather than of dispassionate judges, are easily surmised: indirectly or by implication, the promise referred to was made; inasmuch as both the Navy Department and War Department had been informed of the insurgents' aspirations, and inasmuch as the presumption in favor of granting independence was so strong, our Government was committed, by its temporizing course, to acceptance of the natives' views. Such is a point of view that has much to recommend it, especially if it helps us to accept as a debt of honor the obligation to do for the Filipinos, not necessarily what a few dreamers may demand, but more and better than the mass of the people can ask or think.

DID "SOME AMERICANS" PROMISE?

"But do we not here come upon an illustration of the peril of 'losing sight of truth in the desire to make it truer than itself?'"

"In justice to the Filipinos and to ourselves, in view of the evidence, we can say no less, no more, than that some Americans promised, while America did not promise, that the Philippine Islands should have independence. When Mr. Schurz writes that the history of the world does not furnish 'a single act of perfidy committed by any republic more infamous than that which has been committed by President McKinley's administration against our Filipino allies,' and invites Senator Foraker to 'ransack all his knowledge of the annals of mankind for an act of treachery more base and infamous,' the bad results of over-emphasis may be seen not merely in a certain resentment aroused (if at the moment one's sense of humor happens to be mislaid), but also in a tendency to attach even undue importance to Gen Otis' warning, and to the circumstance that the assurances, offered by persons not authorized to give them, were received by persons not truly representative.

THE LESSONS OF TROPICAL REPUBLICS.

"Have we any reason to believe that the Filipinos could establish a good government for themselves—that the kind of republic their *mestizo* leaders claim the right to institute would bring to them the blessings they desire? Does the history of such experiments in tropical and subtropical countries encourage us to believe it would be less than downright cruelty to leave them to their own devices? Frankly, I fear that such adjectives as 'base' and 'infamous' might, with a rather terrible appositeness, be employed to characterize the act of a nation, familiar as our own with the details of the story of republican experiments in Central and South America and the West Indies, knowing how idle it is, as a rule, to look for good government of the tropics by the natives of those regions, knowing also, as we now do, that the difficulties are greater in the Philippines than elsewhere, and the outlook still more hopeless,—if that nation, having used the power of its navy and army to overthrow the Spanish dominion there, should then shirk the obligation to set up a better government.

NO TIME FOR SENTIMENTALISM.

"I think that the Filipinos' long struggle to win a privilege which they could not enjoy, and their American illusion, claim fairly and surely a response from true American sentiment,—that will insist on being rid of both sentimentalism and prejudice,—whether one look for the answer in administration circles or in the opposition. To discover what is best for such wards of the nation, and to do it—this duty has all the fascination of difficulty."

IBERO-AMERICAN UNITY.

PROPOS of the "Ibero-American Congress" at Madrid, *La España Moderna* for August 1 devotes a dozen pages to urging (as often before) the necessity of federation between Spain and her independent American colonies. A confederacy of Spain and the Spanish-American states was Castelar's pet dream; or, rather, one should say, a confederacy of Spain and Portugal and the independent colonies of both kingdoms. The writer in this number of *La España Moderna* has the same idea, but both writers seem to have had only an obscure secondary place in their league for Portugal and Brazil.

The purpose of such a federation would be to prevent the absorption of the Ibero-American states by the Anglo-Saxons—or, more plainly, by the Yankees. Castelar called his scheme and theme "Paniberismo." It was to head off and defeat "Panamericanism." When the people of the United States say "America for Americans," "they mean," said Castelar, "America for the Yankees." That an Iberian federation is a fantastic impossibility, seems to have occurred neither to Castelar nor to the present writer in *España Moderna*. The specter of the insatiable, earth-eating Yankee filled the vision of both and hid things beyond.

UNCLE SAM'S DARK PLOTS.

The most notable error in this kind of writing is the notion that the government and people of the United States are plotting, plotting always, to seize Spanish-American territory. So far is this from being true, the simple fact is that but very little of such territory would be welcomed as a free gift. And yet *La España Moderna* is so possessed by the belief in our greed and passion for intrigue that it attributes to "the secret hand" of the United States all the discord that in recent years has found its way into the states of Spanish origin in America. The real author of their quarrels and revolutions is, this writer says, "the secret interested hand that is at the bottom of all their conflicts and sets them going. Surely, it is to be blind not to see it, not to divine its objects, and not to see in perspective the perils to which it leads." And then the questions below, and many more, are asked:

"Who introduces into Colombia the separatist revolutions? Who destroys in Argentina, with a hypocritical *coup de grace*, the advantages promised by the conferences of Punta Arenas? Who puts into the hands of Colonel Pando the torch of discord in Bolivia? . . . Who warms the vein of an incautious patriotism in Peru, in order to foment anew her wrath against Chile? . . . Who stimulates the hostile acts of Ecuador

against Colombia?" etc. The United States, of course!

Such beliefs seem, to the people of this country, the creations of a disordered fancy; but probably, wherever read in Spain, they are accepted as facts.

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS AT MEXICO.

La España Moderna sees that the first step towards the league it desires must be the reconciliation of the Spanish and Portuguese states of America. They must stop quarreling, and heal their differences by arbitration. "It is indubitable that, if, in the Ibero-American Congress of Madrid, these salutary initiatives are not taken, they will constitute the first object of the Pan-American Congress at Mexico, to which the secretary of state of the Northern Union has invited representatives of all the Hispano-American governments."

Possibly something may be accomplished by the congress at Mexico towards bringing the Hispano-American states into more harmonious relations; but if the Government of the United States contributes anything to so desirable an end, it will not be, as *La España Moderna* thinks, in order to snatch laurels from Spain, or to obstruct an Ibero-American Union. Our people do not care for that sort of laurel-snatching; nor do they scheme to help or hinder contingencies which they must regard as, in the nature of the case, impossible.

ITALIAN PROGRESS UNDER HUMBERT.

A LONG article by the economist and statistician, Signor Antonio Monzilli, entitled "The Reign of Humbert I.," in *Rivista Politica e Letteraria* (Rome, August 15), recounts the progressive changes and reforms in the kingdom of Italy during the twenty-two years of the reign of King Humbert. In conclusion, Signor Monzilli says:

"There is no doubt that the legislative work intended to set in order the new state, to regulate the civil and social life, to govern the public service, to facilitate the development of the national activity, has been in the reign of Humbert vast and important. . . . I will add here some of the most notable reforms.

BENEFICENT LEGISLATION.

"The tariff reform,—a remarkable advance towards national economy, a reform that,—whatever may be done and said—cannot be successfully disputed; the penal code, which the generous king approved, solicitous that the death penalty might be banished, even in the case of

consummated regicide, so that his assassin is snatched from the extreme penalty by a law of the very king whom he murdered; the commercial code, which stands even now among the best of Europe; the legislation as to works of piety for better assuring the development of beneficence and of the piety which the king practised without ostentation, and of which his death, as always happens, will bring to light moving examples; the legislation as to administrative justice, intended to safeguard the rights of citizens against the arbitrary action of organized power; communal and provincial legislation, to regulate by principles even more liberal the life of local bodies, which are so great a part of the national life; the legislation for the government of institutions of emission [as banks], in order to check abuses, and to direct their work to prosperous credit; the very recent law of improvements, destined not only to confer healthfulness on some places, but also to bring under cultivation large regions of national territory.

NATIONAL STABILITY ACHIEVED.

"Others, with an equipment of genius and learning that I lack, with the time and necessary materials that fail me at this moment, will write the history of the reign of Humbert I., the second king of Italy. In this hour of national grief, under the stupor and discouragement produced by the infamy of a conspiracy whose deeds sully the merited glory of progress belonging to the dying century, I have not been able to do more than throw on to paper, as the tumult of thoughts permitted me, the general outlines of the work of a king sincerely good, noble, generous, loyal, and faithful to the national institutions which he caused to advance, and had never thought of impeding. He left a country greater, a social life improved, and a national existence consolidated and assured; a country better defended, more esteemed and considered in the world; a country in better economic conditions. Certainly, very different was the political greatness, civil and economic, which he trusted he should see Italy attain. . . . Fifty-six years old, strong in body and spirit, he would have been able to live long enough to see the country in the conditions desired by his noble ambition as Italian and king. The hand of an assassin has not permitted it. But that hand has not overthrown the monarchy, or the institutions, or the sense of the Italian people, who in an immense and sincere plebiscitum of grief renew to-day the vote of union and civil concord which assures the greatness of the fatherland."

COÖPERATION IN RUSSIA.

"ARCTIC Coöperation" is the rather chill title of an excellent paper in *Gentleman's*, by Ernest M. Lowry. This writer says:

"Arctic Russia is an ideal land for the social reformer. No one owns estates; the land is either Tundra, the free wandering ground of the Samoyede and his reindeer, forest, or communal holding. Indeed, in the whole empire, under 2 per cent. of the population hold land on the strength of any personal title. The land (the basis of a taxation by no means light) is made over by the government, for division among the peasants, to over 100,000 self-governing communes. This *mir*, as the commune is called, shows us that the political organization of the autocratic empire has as its base self-government, and is securely founded upon most democratic principles. All men are, *ipso facto*, members of their village *mir*, and have equal right of speech and vote in its assemblies."

COÖPERATION IN THE RUSSIAN BLOOD.

Each *mir* develops its institutions in its own way. "In one, all are hard-working 'Old Believers,' steady and grave;" in another, they will be idle and dissolute.

"Sometimes a commune will maintain a school, but too often the illiterate vote out weighs that of those anxious to introduce so wise a measure; for the educated man has no more powerful voice in the assembly than his unlettered brother. The salaries of an unqualified doctor (*feldsher*), a midwife, and others are generally voted by even a renegade *mir*; while some will undertake the sinking of wells, and even the purchase of agricultural implements, for the common weal. There is no doubt that the communal system is popular among the *mujiks* themselves, since settlers on the free Siberian allotments and convicts adopt it of their own free will, wherever they may find themselves. Co-operation is a part of Russian peasant nature; the *mujik* cannot act alone; he must always be in common with his fellows.

HOW RUSSIAN WORKMEN COMBINE.

"Of this fact the *artel*, or peasant coöperative society, is a good example. Workmen in all kinds of employment unite into these societies, live in one common house, share one common table, elect one *starosta*, or leader, who chooses the work the rest will undertake, and to whom are paid the wages of all. He pays the outgoings for material, rent, and keep, after which he divides the profits. The *artel*, collectively, is responsible to the employer for the default of

each and every member; it cannot, therefore, be wondered at that contractors and other employers of labor prefer to deal with the collective *artel* rather than with the individual workman."

Mr. Lowry mentions roadmakers, carpenters, snow-clearers, women dockers, fire-watchmen, bank-guards, as formed into *artels*.

"To its members such associations guarantee higher and more certain wages, cheaper keep (for all board together), and more assured employment, and some proportionate reward for energy, skill, and labor. To the employer—through direct interest—better and more regular workmen, fixed wages for a definite undertaking, and saving in expenses through dealing with one leader instead of with each man. A Russian *artel* will, for the sake of its members, accept only a good and steady man; the loafer finds no place in its ranks.

"How universal, and how ingrained in peasant character, is this formation of unions, may be judged from the fact that, when a few prisoners find themselves cast together, they straight form an *artel*, and elect a head; and in the old days of marching to Siberia, so great was the faith placed in these associations by convoy officers that, on the *starosta* promising that no attempt to escape should be made, they have been known to allow the men to take off their leg-irons; for if a man did bolt, the *artel* managed to find some old runaway to take his place, and so save the officer from blame."

"Each for the other" is "the accepted maxim of every business." Mr. Lowry asks:

"Even in this land of freedom of press and of speech, is there not something in the way of socialism which we might learn from the frozen north of autocratic Russia?"

STORY OF THE DELAGOA BAY ARBITRATION.

MR. MALCOLM M'ILWRAITH contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* for September a lengthy article describing the ins and the outs of the protracted arbitration on the Delagoa Bay Railway. This arbitration, which lasted nine years, and the pleadings and evidence of which fill some forty volumes of print, had long been a stumbling-block for arbitration. Mr. M'Ilwraith is careful to exculpate the arbitrators from the charge usually brought against them of spinning out the arbitration in order to put money in their own pockets, but he cannot exempt them altogether from blame. He admits that "the Portuguese Government and its advisers were determined to contest every possible point, either of fact or law, and to fight the matter, inch by inch, to the bitter end. But after making every allow-

ance for such considerations, there can be little doubt that the case might easily have been concluded in about half the time it actually occupied. The pleadings were long enough, in all conscience, but even they came to an end at the close of 1894, and one year longer should have amply sufficed for everything that there then remained to do. In short, if international arbitrations are to become effective and popular, as a substitute for more coercive measures, the Delagoa Bay case should be regarded as a shining example of how not to arbitrate."

SWISS PROCEDURE FOLLOWED.

Two points upon which he lays special stress may be noticed:

"It is a mistake to submit an international dispute to a too exclusively national tribunal. In the present case the Swiss element predominated far too greatly. With three Swiss judges, three Swiss experts, and six Swiss counsel engaged in the case, the matter was reduced to the level of an ordinary Swiss lawsuit, and the natural result was that purely Swiss methods and procedure, which were not always suitable to litigation of this character, were somewhat slavishly followed throughout. Except for the settlement of some comparatively insignificant question of procedure, the arbitration tribunal never held any sittings in court, and the main issues of the case were never orally pleaded before it at all. Neither Mr. Underdown, the leading English counsel, nor the solicitor who had had charge of the English company's interests from the outset (Mr. Capel Slaughter) ever had an opportunity of appearing before the arbitrators, or even, I believe, of making acquaintance with them, in their official capacity. This impossibility of getting into touch either with the opposing counsel or the judges themselves exercised a baleful influence on the morale of the combatants, and was probably responsible for a good deal of the rather derogatory bickering and irritating recriminations which disfigured some of the pleadings."

FRENCH NAVAL POWER.

IN the August *Revue des Revues*, M. Masson-Forestier delivers a discourse on the French navy, taking as his text the words "Speed is but weakness." At the height of France's pride in her swift navy, a male Cassandra arises and pours cold water on her enthusiasm. France stops her ears, but when M. Normand, himself the first authority on and designer of rapid vessels, raises his voice to protest against them, it is hard not to listen. The French fleet, in the opinion of this expert of experts, is so inferior

that it is well-nigh impotent. "Speed is not necessary, save to the fleet which aspires to exercise dominion over the seas." Speed, therefore, is of importance to England, and to England alone, because without quick vessels she could not rapidly collect her scattered naval forces. To France, speed is useless. Beyond a certain point an additional knot per hour is nowise worth the fabulous sums it costs. "A high-speed vessel like our *Jeanne d'Arc* costs the price of two vessels of equal fighting force but only half speed. On the day of battle, the two would sink the *Jeanne d'Arc* in a twinkling. Victory, in short, belongs to the athlete whose loins and fists are the most powerful, not to him who gets away most quickly." Besides, the mechanism of very fast vessels being delicate as that of a watch, the least thing puts it out. Six reasons are then given why these high-speed vessels should not be of service in the hour of need. We quote the following:

"Speed enables a nation to force battle upon a foe who wants to flee. Well, does any one seriously believe that in case of a contest with England (and is she not the only foe we have to fear?) we ought to take much into consideration the contingency of English admirals flying in terror at the mere sight of a tricolor?"

The speed of a fleet is regulated by the slowest and not by the quickest vessel, and during a naval battle, movements must always be slow.

"Only in France," says M. Masson-Forestier, "are M. Normand's ideas despised." The French populace has got speed-at-any-price on the brain.

As for starving England out by capturing her liners, why, for years past, he says, "the English have had regular contracts with certain foreign shipowners, chiefly American, transferring to the latter the full rights of an English ship in case a state of war came about. Should a French cruiser then board a Cunarder, the captain will merely hoist the star-spangled banner. 'Now, sir, fire on the American flag if you dare.' Should we fire?" asks M. Masson-Forestier.

WHAT TO DO WITH CHINA.

IN the October *Atlantic Monthly*, President James B. Angell discusses "The Crisis in China." President Angell thinks that the Chinese method of government is strong under a strong emperor, and is not ill adapted to the needs of the people; but, under a weak emperor, the palace is so constantly the center of intrigue between contending factions, and the imperial power is so little felt in the provinces, that the government is inefficient.

THE REAL RULER OF CHINA.

"Owing to the filial regard which the Emperor must always cherish for his mother, the Empress Dowager, if a strong and ambitious woman, may wield great power. When I was in Peking in 1880 the Emperor was a child, and was under the control of the two empresses dowager. It was said that they sat invisible behind a curtain when they conferred with the ministers of state. So the saying was current that China was ruled by a baby and two old women behind a curtain. But it was really ruled by Prince Kung, a very able statesman, assisted by various boards. One of the empresses dowager died in 1881; the other, the present energetic woman, had not then made her power felt as it is now."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE NOW?

The great question now is, of course, what immediate action shall be taken to insure the safety of foreigners.

"The reference to Prince Kung suggests a possible precedent for the Western powers when they are settling the present trouble. As the allied British and French armies approached Peking in 1860, the Emperor and his counselors, under whose direction Harry Parkes, Mr. Loch, and others had been treacherously seized and tortured, ran away. The Emperor soon died. The allies secured the appointment of Prince Kung as premier, with the distinct understanding that he should conduct the government during the minority of the infant Emperor on principles insuring the just treatment of foreigners. For forty years the relations of China and Europe have been maintained without any serious trouble, in accordance with the principles then adopted. If it proves that the Empress Dowager and her counselors have instigated the inhuman treatment of the representatives of the Western powers, these powers may find some way to clear the palace of her and her company, and to place a second Prince Kung in power under such stipulations as are needed to secure the proper respect for diplomatic representatives and for all foreign subjects and citizens. She and her guilty advisers may flee from Peking on the near approach of our troops, as did the Emperor Hsienfeng in 1860. If a just and worthy government can be installed, it would seem to promise a far better future for China and the world than a partition of the empire between various powers. Such a partition involves the danger of serious friction, perhaps of war, between European nations, and also the danger of prolonged strife in China. The present contest shows that no act would be so likely to arouse all China to war with the Western nations as the

attempt to seize upon her domain and reduce her to subjection.

EUROPEAN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL.

"For the atrocious acts committed at Peking, there must be a day of reckoning—not in the spirit of vengeance, let us hope, but as a safeguard for the future. Some means must be found for the absolute security and independence of the legations at the capital. Possibly the European powers may favor some such policy of supervision and partial control as they exercise over Turkey under the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, though it must be admitted by them that the success of the so-called 'concert of the great powers' in respect to the Ottoman empire has not been very brilliant. Our traditional policy would hold us aloof from any such undertaking.

"If the young Emperor, who has shown himself friendly to liberal ideas, can be freed from the control of the Empress Dowager, and can be surrounded and guided by men as able and sensible as the Viceroy at Nanking appears to be, and if the European powers will not be too greedy in appropriating Chinese territory, possibly some solution of the present difficult problems can be found, compatible with the integrity and perpetuity of the empire and with the legitimate rights of foreigners resident on its soil. This should be, and probably is, the desire of the American people."

No Dismemberment for China.

Mr. H. H. Lowry, writing in the October *Harper's*, affirms his belief that the salvation of China rests really with the missionary. The missionary must bring that moral uplift of China's millions which alone can secure political and commercial prosperity. This work, Mr. Lowry believes, neither diplomacy nor commerce can accomplish.

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

As to the immediate crisis at hand, he says that the interests of permanent peace and of an impartial field for commerce absolutely demand that the Chinese Government shall be held strictly responsible for the protection of the lives and financial interests of foreigners of every class lawfully pursuing their vocation under treaty stipulations. Some sort of international control in the central government will be an imperative necessity for at least one generation; and he thinks, should this prove sufficiently strong and insistent, it will remove the necessity for policing the country with foreign troops.

"Preliminary to the inauguration of such a policy must needs be the summary and public

execution of the leaders in the present outrages, no matter what their rank. The publicity of the punishment of those in high position who are guilty can nowhere have such immediate and wholesome effect as in China. There should be no yielding because of the specious pleas that will be advanced by viceroys and privy councilors in order to shift responsibility. The Chinese sentimentality in regard to the sacredness of the persons of the imperial clan, even though it should include the Empress Dowager herself, or the highest mandarins in the nation, should not be permitted to shield the guilty. There is no nation in the world where the degrees of official responsibility are more perfectly graded than in China; and there is no place in the world where personal responsibility can be so easily eluded by the officials as in China. When the provincial and prefectural officials are made to understand that they will be held accountable, and with unfailing certainty punished, for any destruction of lives or property of foreigners within the limits of their jurisdiction, we shall hear no more reports of outrages and massacres of innocent persons. The weakness of the central government is not apparent when it has thought it necessary to cashier a viceroy or decapitate a general in the most remote province; it is only when some foreigner is involved that the supposed weakness is put forward as an excuse for inaction.

NO SEIZURE OF TERRITORY.

"Another self-evident requirement for permanent peace in China is that the nations should, *once and forever, abandon the thought of dismemberment*, and thus cause the political agitators to cease their discussion of the question through the publications of the West. As long as this selfish policy is cherished by any of the nations, or the discussion continues, with the certainty of its translation into Chinese, there will be unrest and constant irritation. The conspicuous failures of the experiments already made of seizing Chinese territory should satisfy the world that permanent peace cannot be secured in that way. Dismemberment is wrong in equity, mischievous in operation, and in the end can only result in friction and misrule.

"The highest commercial advantages, to say nothing of the cause of civilization and humanity, demand that the policy of an open door, and the integrity of the empire—as already outlined by the United States Government—should be absolutely and permanently maintained. Under such a policy the Pacific Ocean is destined to become the greatest commercial highway, and the United States the greatest commercial nation of the world."

THE COMMERCIAL FUTURE OF CHINA.

IN the *Revue des Revues*, M. Jean de Bloch, writing of "Illusions About the Conquest of China," sounds a note of serious warning to the powers. The Chinese have now been forced to open 31 ports, besides the half-dozen pieces of territory seized by the powers as "spheres of in-



M. JEAN DE BLOCH.

fluence." But the imports and exports of the 12 ports opened before 1876 are respectively about seven and nine times greater than those for the 14 ports since opened. Again, the earlier ports showed an excess of exports over imports, but now the case is changed.

CHINA STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE.

China, says M. de Bloch, is not dead; far from it. Instead of being dismembered after her war with Japan, she busied herself in modifying her military system. "The present revolt is but the first movement of a giant believed to be dead, but only asleep; he who wakes him has so many elements of internal weakness that, in spite of his powerful military organization, he will not succeed." The present crisis has been coming on for many years, and has many causes, one of which is the fact that America, Australia, and Canada have sent back Chinese emigrants, while all the time Europeans were invading China. The missionaries have ceased to act with their

former prudence, and diplomatists and consuls have not improved matters by being too careless of Chinese susceptibilities, however foolish those susceptibilities may be. Adding all these and many other causes together, and remembering that the Chinese (partly through Li Hung Chang) are well aware of the jealousies and misunderstandings between European powers, M. de Bloch considers it wonderful that the rebellion has been so long in coming.

TRADE RELATIONS.

The writer then tries to draw up a profit and loss account showing the advantages and disadvantages to be gained from China. Every inch of ground in China being already occupied, it obviously cannot be used as a dumping-ground for surplus European population. The only possible profit might be from exporting goods to China. But the Chinese need very little, and are not likely to need more for centuries to come; and this M. de Bloch curiously enough attributes to the low status of Chinese women. "Place the women of other nations in the position of Chinese women, and it will be at once seen that commercial activity is reduced by half." In China there is fashion neither in clothes nor in houses. The many needs which we satisfy by international exchange do not even exist in China.

M. de Bloch calculates that the nations need not reckon on more than \$13,000,000 a year from China. But to sell to China, why must we take her ports? Germany has built up a large trade with her without any port till quite recently. It is urged that railroads and properly worked mines will cause industry to develop; but there M. de Bloch sees a great danger. China with her cheap labor will soon cease to be a consumer and will become an exporter of the very things Europe is seeking to give her. Nothing can eventually prevent China increasing her tariffs. M. de Bloch's chief dread is a Chino-Japanese coalition. He fears lest China should turn to Japan and say, "Foreigner as you are, you can at least protect us." Six soldiers at least, M. de Bloch calculates, must be allowed for the protection of a single European. He concludes as follows:

"As soon as Chinomania is reduced to its just proportions, the states will find it advisable to conclude international treaties for keeping the entry into China open to all; and, in case of disagreement, to submit their differences to the institution established by the Hague Conference. . . . Chinomania is justified by no economic reason, and is contrary to all the interests of Europe."

THE BOXER PROPAGANDA.

AN account of the anti-foreign movement in China based entirely on "original sources" of information is contributed to the *Open Court* for September by the Rev. George T. Candlin, a missionary in North China, where the Boxer disturbances began several years since.



BOXERS SACKING AND FIRING A CHRISTIAN MISSION.

(From the *Tung-Wen-Hu-Pao*, a Chinese newspaper of Tientsin.)

Dr. Candlin describes the Boxer method of procedure as follows: "Mysterious placards are posted on the walls of buildings by night; sometimes they are handed to individuals in a crowded market. A general state of mingled excitement, fear, and expectation is created, and especially the idea of the advent of invincible swordsmen, armed with supernatural power, and teachers and leaders, is instilled into the mind of a populace superstitious in the extreme, and a large portion of whom are ripe for any mischief and supremely covetous of loot. Then children, varying in age from ten to twenty, are seen in vacant spaces and on the corners of the streets 'drilling.' In addition to the revelations considered to be connected with these strange exercises, they are supposed to render those who engage in them invulnerable, alike to sword-thrusts and rifle-bullets. Gradually their numbers increase, older people take part, and then for the first time definite organization is proposed. Leaders are appointed, adherents are formed into what are called *lu*, 'hearths.' These 'hearths' are equivalent to camps. They number five hundred each, and every member is sworn in to obey the leaders, to sleep and take food together, and to have the grain and meal necessary for their support sent from home. The next step is to commence work by setting fire to some foreign house, railway-station, mis-

sion chapel, or other obnoxious building, putting to the sword all native Christians they can find, and any hapless 'foreign devil' who may fall into their hands. In the performance of this part of the programme it is impossible to distinguish the rebels from the populace. Swarming in thousands, they murder, destroy, and loot till there is little left behind."

Priests of the Buddhist faith are among the leaders of the inner council, or conclave, which plans the operations of the society. It is this council that originates the mysterious placards, sends forerunners to the various districts, and manipulates the officials.

INCENDIARY PLACARDS.

Dr. Candlin gives translations of four of the Boxer placards. Many of the illusions in these strange documents are unintelligible to American readers. Dr. Candlin himself does not pretend to explain them all. Placard No. 3 is typical of the lot:

The bestower of happiness, the God of Wealth.

A CIRCULAR FROM LI PO.

Inasmuch as the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches have deceived the spirits and destroyed the (teachings of) the sages, and are not obedient to the law of Buddha, eighty thousand spiritual soldiers will come in the clouds to sweep out the foreigners from abroad. Express divination has been made that, before long, swordsmen will come rolling down, and calamity will be on the army and the people. The Buddhist Volun-



EUROPEANS FLEEING BEFORE THE BOXERS.

(From the *Tung-Wen-Hu-Pao*.)

teer Associated Train-bands are able to pacify the people and defend the empire. Upon sight of this, such persons as distribute three copies will avert calamity from one family, while those who distribute ten copies will avert calamities from a whole village. Those who, having met with, refuse to distribute, will be liable to the punishment of decapitation.

Unless the foreigners are subjugated there will be no rain.

If any persons have taken poison from foreigners the following recipe is a specific against it :

- I. Dried plums 7 mace.
- II. Euonymus Bark 5 mace.
- III. Licorice Root 5 mace.

This placard was posted in Yangshan about June 15. It ascribes the want of rain to the disturbing influence of foreigners. There had been a dry and windy spring, and famine was in prospect.

OUR BROTHERS IN MID-AFRICA.

THE first to go over the Cape-to-Cairo route is, according to the testimony of the president of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Ewart S. Grogan, a youth of twenty-five. His narrative of this exploit appears in the *Geographical Journal* for August, and forms a series of picturesque glimpses of the African interior. He begins with a few words descriptive of the Gorongozo country of Portuguese East Africa. He says :

"The quantity of game in all this country is incredible. Crossing the great plain just as the waters were falling and the new grass growing up, we saw over 40,000 head of game, mainly blue wildebeeste, from one point; and during our stay of five months, besides many fine heads of buffalo and various species of antelope, we shot 17 lions and captured alive five cubs, three of which are now disporting themselves in Regent's Park."

LOWEST IN THE HUMAN SCALE.

But it is the human fauna which supply the most interesting pictures in Mr. Grogan's story. Here is a type of humanity which Mr. Rhodes' railroad ought soon to bring within easy access of civilized curiosity, as its home lies to the south of Lake Albert Edward :

"When exploring with a small number of followers, I observed some ape-like creatures leering at me from behind banana palms, and with considerable difficulty my Ruanda guide induced one of them to come and be inspected. He was a tall man, with the long arms, pendant paunch, and short legs of the ape, pronouncedly microcephalous and prognathous. At first he was terribly alarmed, but soon gained confidence, and when I asked him about elephant and other game he gave me the most realistic representations of them and of how they should be attacked. I failed to exactly define their social status; but from the contempt in which they were held by the Waruanda, their local caste must be very low. The stamp of the brute was so strong on them that

I should place them lower in the human scale than any other natives I have seen in Africa. Their type is totally distinct from the other peoples, and, judging from the twenty to thirty specimens I saw, very consistent. Their face, body, and limbs are covered with wiry hair, and the hang of the long, powerful arms, the slight stoop of the trunk, and the hunted, vacant expression of the face made up a *tout ensemble* that was a terrible pictorial proof of Darwinism. The pygmies are of similar build, but have the appearance of full-grown, exceedingly powerful men compressed, and with much more intelligent faces. The pygmies are to these ape-like beings as the dog-faced baboons are to the gorillas. Probably they are, like the pygmies, survivals of former inhabitants of the country, the difference in their type depending on the surroundings in which they have had to struggle for existence. The true type of pygmy is a magnificent example of nature's adaptability, being a combination of immense strength, necessary for the precarious hunting life they lead, and compactness indispensable to rapid movement in dense forest where the pig-runs are the only means of passage."

A FEAST OF HUMAN VULTURES.

The Mboga country affords the writer a scene which suggests that table manners are in as rudimentary stage as the tailor's art in those regions. Mr. Grogan had shot an elephant.

"The Balegga, who inhabit the hills to the north, and who were suffering terribly from the effects of the long drought, looked upon me as a great institution, and swarmed down in hundreds for the meat. A weird sight it was. Stark-naked savages, with long, greased plaits of hair hanging down to their shoulders, were perched on every available inch of the carcass, hacking away with knives and spears, yelling, whooping, wrestling, cursing, and munching, covered with blood and entrails; the new-comers tearing off lumps of meat and swallowing them raw, the earlier arrivals defending great lumps of offal and other delicacies, while others were crawling in and out of the intestines like so many prairie marmots. Old men, young men, prehistoric hags, babies, one and all gorging or gorged, smearing themselves with blood, laughing, and fighting. Pools of blood, strips of hide, vast bones, blocks of meat, individuals who had not dined wisely but to well, lay around in bewildering confusion, and in two short hours all was finished. Nothing remained but the great gaunt ribs, like the skeleton of a shipwreck, and a few disconsolate-looking vultures perched thereon."

These African diners may not be desirable messmates, but, after all, the worst horrors re-

ported by Mr. Grogan are the atrocities perpetrated by Belgian troops on British territory, raiding tribes under British protection, killing the men and carrying off women and cattle. The writer has convinced himself by inquiries from neighboring tribes of the truth of these grave charges.

A RACE OF GIANTS.

As a foil to the pygmies may be set the Dinkas, who occupy the region west of Bahr-el-Jebel, whom the writer thus describes:

"The Dinkas have enormous droves of cattle, which they value very highly; they never kill them for food, but from time to time tap the blood, which they drink greedily. They are of colossal stature; some of the herdmen I saw must have been very nearly seven feet, and in every settlement the majority of the men towered above me, while my boys seemed the merest pygmies by their side. They smear themselves with a paste made of wood-ash to protect themselves from the bites of the mosquitoes, and the long lines of warriors threading their way in single file through the marsh appear like so many gray specters. They are absolutely nude, considering any sort of covering as effeminate. Their invariable weapons are a long club made of bastard ebony, a fish-lance, and a broad-bladed spear, and the chiefs wear enormous ivory bracelets. The southern Dinkas cut their hair like a cock's comb, and the northern Dinkas train their hair like a mop. Both bleach it with manure."

Mr. Grogan and his party narrowly escaped massacre by these Dinkas, who treacherously and without warning assailed them.

Such are some of the human ingredients in the mid-African crucible into which will be thrust ere long the mixing-rod of the Cape-to-Cairo railway.

ROBINSON CRUSOE'S ISLAND.

ABOUT two years ago, a report was cabled around the world that the island of Juan Fernandez, down in the South Pacific, had disappeared, as the result of an earthquake.

Ordinarily, such a report would have attracted little notice; but the fame of this particular island had gone wherever the English language is read, for Juan Fernandez was the place of Alexander Selkirk's exile—the scene of "Robinson Crusoe's" adventures. At some time in our lives this little island has been, to most of us, the most interesting spot in the world. Thus it came about that there was a great desire among seafaring men to verify or else disprove the alleged mysterious disappearance of the island. It was

this desire that led Captain Hawley, of the U. S. S. *Hartford*, to attempt to "pick up" Juan Fernandez, and so to learn that the report of the seismic disappearance was unfounded, and that "Robinson Crusoe's Island" still flourishes. The story of the visit made by the *Hartford's* crew is told, in the August number of the *Overland Monthly*, by Douglas White.

THE MODERN INHABITANTS.

It will be news to many of our readers that a community of Chileans is living on the island to-day.

"Ever since the Chilean occupation of the island, there has resided here a representative of the republic. Time was when this representative existed in the form of a glittering army officer. Then the dignity fell, until Juan Fernandez's governor visited ships in a red-striped shirt, an old tall hat, with a sword of ancient make tied to his waist by means of a bit of rope-yarn. But Fernandez has again advanced, this time not toward a position of military greatness—for it is commerce which is causing her little colony to remain upon the island. Her governor is now an educated, sedate European, and though of foreign birth, a citizen of Chile. He it was who met us in his boat and conducted the *Hartford* to a safe anchorage. From a herd of his cattle fresh beef was purchased, and from the gardens of the little Chileno village came green stuff to gladden the hearts of the salt-fed mariners.

"We found that Fernandez possesses an industry, for a firm of shrewd Germans has established on Cumberland Bay a canning establishment for the preserving of the splendid lobsters and codfish with which the waters abound. As there are no such things as lobsters on the mainland, there is a ready market for the little factory's production.

"Months had passed since anything save a little schooner from the coast had called at Cumberland Bay, so even outside the financial features the *Hartford's* visit was a welcome one. For the balance of the day, the cruiser lay at anchor giving her people an opportunity to rummage about the island while stores were brought aboard and a supply of fresh fish secured.

A SECLUDED GOVERNOR.

"There is little to attract in the appearance the village of San Juan Bautista. Of the 93 of souls, most are employed in the canning-factory; and by far the most interesting of all these people is the governor, who, located on this far-away patch of rocks, spends his time surrounded by an excellent library, filled with the best authors, which shows evidences of being kept abreast of

the times by the constant addition of lately published works. This governor will introduce you to his native wife and family, and gravely interpret for you in any one of five languages. He will in the next moment tell you that his is a peaceful life there on the reefs of the Pacific, and calmly point out as his prospective last resting-place the little graveyard where the white crosses glint in the sunlight at the point north of the bay. You will wonder why a man like this is found buried out here hundreds of miles from civilization, and why he should meet these conditions so stoically. You may try to find the reason, and you will probably fail, as I did; for though ready to tell of everything about the island or to share with you the products of his island home, he will converse on any subject save himself; and the result is that you depart still wondering over the personality of this man of talents who among these untutored natives must of necessity lead a life almost as solitary as did Selkirk when, two hundred years ago, he saw the sails of the *Cinque Ports* sink below the horizon.

"Of Selkirk there still remain many traces. His cave still exists at the head of English Bay, and up at the point where he kept this lookout, English naval officers have placed a tablet to his memory—for Selkirk died an officer in the English navy, being a lieutenant on board *H. M. S. Weymouth* when the end came.

"By this tablet does the navy of Great Britain indorse the authenticity of the tale which formed the foundation of Defoe's greatest and most popular work.

"From the lookout down to the beach where the cave is located, there is a distinct trail, which it is claimed is the one daily trodden by the exiled mariner during his four years of solitude."

ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION.

IN the first August number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. Dastre writes one of his well-informed scientific papers, this time on the popular subject of "Antarctic Exploration."

For various reasons, the exploration of the region surrounding the South Pole has not attracted so much general interest as that of the region surrounding the North Pole; nevertheless, the Antarctic offers an extraordinary field for the naturalist, the geologist, the meteorologist, and the geographer. Much was done between the years 1774 and 1843 by Cook, Dumont d'Urville, Bellingshausen, Wilkes, Ross, and others, and then there followed an interval of some duration. The Belgian expedition, under the direction of Commandant Gerlache, has

scarcely returned to Europe after two years' of exploration when three more expeditions are announced, which will start next year. Of these three, the German expedition intends to attack the Antarctic at the south of the Indian Ocean, on the line of the meridian that passes through Siam and Sumatra; the English expedition will make for the south of the Polynesian Sea, while the Scotch explorers will make for Graham's Land. M. de Gerlache's expedition operated to the south of Palmer's Land, so that the Antarctic will have been attacked from four separate sides. All these enterprises are not intended solely to increase our geographical knowledge, but it is also proposed to study the geology, the fauna, and flora. A comparison of the magnetic, meteorological, and oceanographic observations of the four expeditions should lead to many new and important discoveries in regard to the circulation of the atmosphere and the pressure of winds and storms. Geographers admit in general the existence of an Antarctic continent, having as its center the South Pole, which is unlike the North Pole in being the center of firm ground, which is, of course, covered with ice. This is mere theory; but, so far, no fact has been adduced to contradict it.

POSSIBILITY OF AN ANTARCTIC CONTINENT.

It is curious to observe, in the Southern Hemisphere, how far from the South Pole the continents come to an end. Africa ends between the 34th and 35th parallel of latitude; Tasmania between the 33d and 34th; and it is only South America which reaches the 56th parallel, and even that is more distant from the South Pole than Scotland is from the North Pole. South of the 56th parallel the explorer meets with icebergs and small islands as far as the Polar Circle—that is to say, the 70th parallel; beyond that, however, he finds land reappearing, and the farther he gets the larger are the areas which appear to be covered by land, so that the hypothesis of a Southern Continent is a very plausible one. Indeed, one savant, a Mr. Lothian Green, suggested that the solid part of the globe resembles a triangular pyramid, the apex of which is the South Pole, the base resting on the glacial sea of the North, while the sides of the pyramid are formed into depressions as the beds of the oceans. He explains this alteration of the primitive spherical form of our globe by the theory of progressive cooling, resulting in a contraction. Thus, a balloon when it is being emptied exhibits depressions and upheavals, the effect of which is that of a rough pyramid. However, the validity of these and other theories will, no doubt, be

tested before many years are over. Meanwhile, M. Dastre promises us an article on the discoveries of the Gerlache expedition in the domain of Antarctic fauna and flora.

THE WORLD'S COAL.

AFTER a careful survey of the present conditions of coal supply and consumption in the principal countries of the world, Mr. Benjamin Taylor, writing in *Cassier's* for September, concludes that the explanation of the recent enormous consumption of coal in Europe is to be found in the phenomenal industrial expansion and activity of the past two years. He says:

"The plain fact to be deduced from a consideration of the whole situation is that the coal supply of Europe at large was, last year, short of the requirements of industrial Europe and dependent markets. Hence the great advance in prices—at a time, too, of dear freights caused by the absorption of tonnage in connection with the Transvaal War, and by the general activity of trade all over the world. Prices having been, by the comparative scarcity and peculiar conditions, sent up to a level which renders industries unremunerative, will be brought down again by the consequent curtailment of consumption. It is the natural effect of high prices to check consumption, and so the bane carries its own antidote. A good deal of mischief may be done, however, before coal prices return to a reasonable level, and undoubtedly the coal famine in Europe has given America an opening for both coal and iron that she is not likely to allow to be closed again.

THE AMERICAN FACTOR.

"The projection of American coal into the international arena is, indeed, the great economic feature of the time. It is not probable that American coal will go to feed British factories; but if it goes to feed some of the foreign factories and coaling-stations hitherto accustomed to be fed from South Wales and the North of England, it will save the drain on the British fields for foreign uses. Thus, the British exports will be abated, or at all events not increased, and they are now as large as they need be.

BRITAIN'S COAL RESOURCES.

"While it is for a royal commission, or a committee of experts, to determine what are the present coal resources of the British Isles, ordinary persons may take certain facts and probabilities into consideration. One is that the British empire now produces about five-twelfths of the world's coal, and that only the fringe of the resources of India, Africa, and Australasia has as

yet been touched. Another is that the industrial consumption of coal will not increase in the same rate in the future as in the past, because science is teaching us both how to economize coal and how to develop the employment of electric energy. For the present, however, the coal question is undoubtedly a most anxious one for all engaged in industrial pursuits."

SOME NOTABLE NEW INVENTIONS.

LAST month's magazines register several strides forward in man's campaign of conquest over his material environment.

Mr. H. J. Shepstone describes, in the August *Harmsworth's*, Mr. H. S. Halford's patent gradient railway, which promises to yield a rate of 200 miles an hour by train, and makes a journey of fifteen minutes from London to Brighton conceivable. The inventor has already worked out the idea in a model 50 yards in length.

"The permanent way is laid upon girders. There are six girder-sections in the model, each 25 feet in length. These girders are supported upon rams moving the supporting columns as pistons. These rams are the terminal points of sections, and are made to rise, and so cause a gradient down which the train runs. It will be seen, therefore, that the train is made to travel by gravitation obtained by hydraulic or other power.

"The automatic rising of the rams as the train proceeds is obtained as follows: At a point about five feet from the completion of the first graded section, one of the levers in the trolley above the rail cleverly depresses a lever called an actuator, automatically admitting the water-pressure below the piston of the column in front of it, which naturally begins to rise. The ram does not reach its full height until the train has passed the rising column. This is repeated at all remaining columns, with the result that the train is continuing its run at an ever-increasing speed.

"The time taken to cover the whole distance of 50 yards is 26.45 seconds, made up as follows: Starting section 8 seconds, second section 6 seconds, third section 4.15 seconds, fourth section 3.15 seconds, fifth section 2.25 seconds; and the last section 2 seconds, or one-quarter of the time required to cover the first section. Directly the rams are passed they commence to fall very slowly, but of course have not sunk appreciably until the train has passed."

The initial cost of such a railway would be enormous, but the working expenses would be small.

"Mr. Halford claims for his system the following advantages: (1) That it is the quickest

and safest system in the world; (2) that there are no boilers to explode, no smoke or smell, and no dirt; (3) no running off the line; (4) no dangerous level-crossings; and (5) a minimum of wear and tear."

A Flying Ship on Its Trial Trip.

Pearson's, which is honorably distinguished for its early records of new and surprising inventions, gives prominence to two notable novelties of this kind in its September issue. Gustav Levering tells of the first voyage of "the ship that flies," as he calls Count von Zeppelin's air-ship. This is his description of the first ship to navigate the aerial sea:

"In appearance, Count von Zeppelin's air-ship resembles a huge cigar, pointed at both ends; it is made chiefly of aluminium. Its length is about 415 feet. The diameter of the cylinder is 40 feet, and the total depth of the structure, including the gondolas in which the passengers are to sit, is rather more than 80 feet. The framework of this huge cylinder consists of aluminium bands, 24 in number. The interior of the cigar is divided by 16 vertical ribs into 17 compartments, each of which contains an independent balloon, made of material which the manufacturer calls 'ballonin.' The balloons now used have retained hydrogen-gas for five weeks without sensible loss. The capacity of the cigar is 11,000 cubic meters. . . . The total weight of the ship, including its crew, is estimated not to exceed 20,000 pounds. . . . Four screws or propellers attached to the sides of the cigar are actuated by two Daimler motors of 15 horse-power each, and are capable of turning at the rate of 1,200 revolutions per minute. These propellers are made with blades of aluminium. . . . The steering apparatus consists of four rudders connected in pairs."

The writer depicts the sensation felt by the crowds at Friedrichshaven, on Lake Constance, on July 2, when they saw the monster air-ship ascend, with propellers revolving 1,200 times a minute, to a height of 1,300 feet, and after rising and sinking and circling at the will of the inventor, who had a tiny crew with him on board, return in safety to the lake after having flown a distance of six miles. The result was satisfactory, but further improvements are promised. Some of the aluminium portions will be replaced by a new and lighter substance called "magmalium."

The Ice-Breaker as Polar Discoverer.

As the air-ship makes its way through the tenuous atmosphere by its lightness, so Admiral Makaroff's ice-breaker, the *Ermack*, as described by Earl Mayo in the September *Windsor*, forges its way through vast strata of solidified water by

sheer weight. The Russian admiral assured the Irish nobleman that "the future of Arctic and Antarctic exploration, including the discovery of the poles, will depend mainly on the use of powerful ice-breakers." Nansen having found it possible to build a ship strong enough to withstand the pressure of the ice, the ice-breaker turns his defensive into an offensive. The construction of the ice-breaker has been described before in our pages. Earl Mayo adds the description of the *Ermack's* progress through Arctic ice. The vessel has gone through the thickest ice of the Spitzbergen region—as thick as any, in the admiral's judgment, that lies between us and the North Pole. Here is the story of how she went through a Spitzbergen floe:

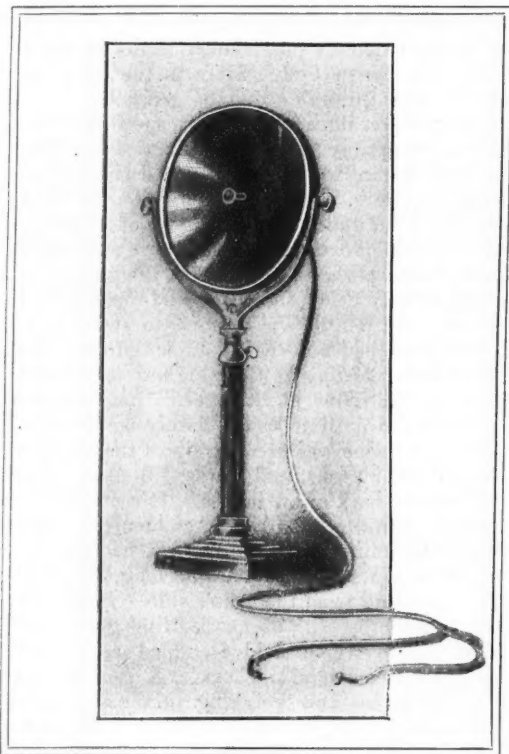
"At the first impact, the ship's speed did not slacken perceptibly; but it was noticeable that the bow began to rise slowly into the air, as though she were being lifted from below by a giant hand. The ice showed no sign of yielding, and the ship moved on, going more and more slowly, until, perhaps, nine feet of the glistening surface usually below the water-line was exposed to view. At length she seemed to stand still. Her engines had not ceased their efforts; the screws were whirling at their highest speed and churning the water at her stern; but progress had decreased until it could hardly be observed by the eye. She was pressing upon the ice with a weight of 900 tons, and it was still firm. She even slipped back a few inches. It seemed as if she were going to fail. Then, suddenly, a crack which, beginning below the surface, had not before revealed itself, appeared in a long, irregular line, extending from the ship's side. Sharp reports like the barking of quick-firing guns were heard. The whole field trembled as though moved by an earthquake shock. A great strip of it, a mile across and weighing in the aggregate thousands of tons, detached itself from the principal mass and moved slowly off. After remaining poised motionless for some minutes, the *Ermack* now darted forward swiftly, like a living thing. Giant ice-boulders, detached by the shock, plunged into the water, while others, rising from great depths, sprang into the air, looking as green as emeralds, and as clear. They fell back into the water, and were crushed by the flying screws as in the jaws of a monster. Proceeding in this manner, the *Ermack* made her way through ice-ridges that sometimes rose to a height of eighteen feet above the surface of the water and extended to a depth of nine fathoms below."

So with feet of steel the modern man may trample through the fields of Arctic ice to the North Pole.

Wireless Telephony.

"Talking Along a Beam of Light" is the lucid title which Mr. C. M. M'Govern gives to his account in the September *Pearson's* of Mr. Hayes' radiophone. It is, roughly speaking, a telephone in which the rays of a searchlight play the part of the connecting-wire. This is the writer's graphic way of explaining it:

"At the sending-point—let us suppose it is a lighthouse—is a soundproof telephone-box. On



THE MIRROR, WITH THE TWO EAR-TUBES ATTACHED.

the table in this telephone-box there are four ordinary transmitters instead of the single transmitter in common usage, and the four pairs of wires that run from these transmitters extend to the back of an ordinary searchlight placed just outside the box, the wires first passing through a small 'knife-switch' and through a small 'resistance box and regulator' on their way to the searchlight.

"Supposing the person it is desired to talk to is the captain of an incoming steamer which is some two miles away. There is an ordinary telephone-box in the pilot-house of the ship, where, instead of the 'wire' telephone-receiver, there

hangs on the wall of the box a circular, concave mirror, in the center of which is fixed a small glass bulb—shaped like the glass of a thermometer—the glass bulb being half filled with carbonized filament. The small end of this glass bulb penetrates through to the back of the mirror, where it fits into the end of an ordinary phonograph ear-tube, whose opposite ends are placed in the captain's ears.

"The searchlight at the sending-station is now thrown upon the mirror in the pilot-house, the person in the land-station talks in a loud voice, and immediately the captain hears the voice as clearly and distinctly as if it were at his elbow instead of a mile or two away (it makes no difference whether he is near or far); the light used is the same, and the conversation is as intelligible whether the ship is still or steaming farther or nearer. There is no bell to ring, in order to tell the captain that the person in the lighthouse wishes to speak to him; he sees the lighthouse fixing its searchlight upon his pilot-house, and he knows that that is the signal for him to answer 'Hello.'"

The inventor is Mr. Hammond V. Hayes, of Boston, "one of the most modest inventors" the writer has ever met. He says that the scientific basis upon which the radiophone works is that "varied heat-waves can be transmitted in a beam of light to a receiver capable of reproducing delicate sound-vibrations with accuracy." His distinctive work has been the evolution of the little glass bulb with the carbonized filament. He explains the marvel thus:

"With each infinitesimal variation in the intensity of the radiation—caused by speaking into the transmitter—which reaches the glass bulb, there is a corresponding variation in the heating of the filament, and in consequence there is a corresponding variation in the expansion of the air in the bulb—its degrees of heat being so much varied. Certain sounds (words and syllables) produce one sort of expansion of the air in the bulb, while certain other words and syllables produce other sorts of expansion; and thus every vibration through the transmitter, whether by the human voice or by an instrument like a telegraph-key, or a cornet, is reproduced upon the receiver."

Neither bright sunlight nor thick fog affects the transmission of the heat-ray which conveys the message.

Bearing in mind the new voice-magnifier, wherewith a pupil of Edison proposes to make his voice distinctly heard from the top of the Eiffel Tower all over Paris, we are evidently approaching a marvelous era of multitudinous intercommunication.

THE BASIS OF IMMUNITY FROM MICROBE INFECTION.

THE journal *Le Progrès Médical* for August 18, published in Paris, contains a partial report of the Thirteenth International Congress of Medicine, which is made up of several sections devoted to various branches of the science. Problems of immunity and related questions were taken up for consideration in the bacteriological section.

Since the congress of 1889, our knowledge of bacteriology has undergone profound changes. For about twelve years, interest has been centered, above all else, in the microbe.

For the sake of clearness, a few terms are defined at the beginning.

Alexines are substances, probably albumenoids, secreted by leucocytes, which have an important rôle in the defense of the organism against infection. They are normally present in the blood, and make resistance possible against certain affections, such as abscess, etc., without the production of specific immunization. *Anticorps*, on the contrary, are produced by phagocytes only under certain pathological conditions, and for the special purpose of destroying certain bacterial poisons or certain microbes. *Antitoxines*, then, are a variety of anticorps. *Toxoides* are toxines modified by heat and age. They are only slightly toxic, but can engender antitoxine when injected in animals.

NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL IMMUNITY.

Dr. Büchner, of Munich, spoke upon the subject of immunity, in which he distinguishes natural immunity, or natural resistance, and artificial immunity. The first depends upon the presence of alexines in the fluids of the body, and also upon the power of the leucocytes to devour living and virulent bacteria, which they do by engulfing and digesting them, just as the well-known amœba flows over and absorbs the particles upon which it subsists. The alexines of serum are produced by leucocytes, so that natural resistance may be called the function of the leucocytes. Büchner considers that alexines weaken the microbes, making them easy victims to the leucocytes, or in some cases destroy them unaided.

There are three varieties of artificial immunity—one resulting from treatment with toxines, or toxoides and toxones; a second, resulting from treatment with bacteria, and a third from treatment with specific erythrocytes. In all of these cases the treatment results in the production of anticorps in the serum of the animal, which can combine with the toxic substance that has called it into existence. This is the principle of artificial immunity; natural resistance differs from

this in having its resisting power characterized by alexines, which are destroyed at 60° C., and which vary according to the species of animal producing them. Anticorps are more stable, and can resist a temperature of 65° C.; they do not vary according to the species of animal that produces them, but according to the preparatory treatment.

Alexines and anticorps act in the same body at the same time; in this way, natural and artificial immunity may be associated and mutually reinforce each other.

TOXINES AND ANTITOXINES.

M. Le Pr. P. Ehrlich took up the subject of toxines and antitoxines. Toxines are products of secretions of animal or vegetable origin; their two characteristics are, for the moment, unique in biology. First, when a toxine encounters a chemically definite poison, it requires a period of incubation before manifesting its nocine action. The second characteristic is more important; toxine injected into an animal gives place to the formation of an antitoxine.

It is probable that toxines form specific combinations with protoplasm, and the products of these combinations exist normally in the blood. They may be produced in greater quantities by increased activity of the cell, and this conserves the power of producing an excess of such elements as a protection at the least menace of infection. Temporary or permanent immunity depends upon this principle.

A Plea for the Poor Hunted Microbe.

Mr. Maurice L. Johnson heads his paper in the *Westminster Review* "Microbes: Are They Inherently Pathogenic?" and proceeds to answer the question with an emphatic negative. He quotes a paper read by Mr. George G. Bantock, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., in March of last year, in which the doctor presents facts to show "that the modern doctrine of bacteriology is a gigantic mistake," and "that these various bacilli play a beneficent rôle in the economy of nature." The writer proceeds:

"As Dr. Bantock and other eminent authorities assure us, the germs which have come to be regarded as the causes of the most virulent diseases are constantly found swarming in perfectly healthy people, and as their decrescence is frequently attended with unfavorable results, there is good ground for believing them to be necessary and beneficent. But the misconceptions in regard to them seem to have arisen from the mistaking of an effect for a cause. For example, the Klebs-Löffler bacillus has been looked upon as the cause of diphtheria, while it is universally

admitted that it is continually present in perfectly healthy mouths and fauces. But, of course, when an individual contracts diphtheria, all the microbes of his system, including this denizen of the fauces to which the diphtheritic stigma has been attached, must participate in the contamination and acquire the diphtheritic diathesis; so when, under such conditions, it has been taken and injected into animals and they have developed diphtheria, the false assumption has arisen that this microbe, harmless enough when taken from a healthy person, was the cause of diphtheria, because it induced the disease when taken from a diphtheritic patient, any other microbe or emanation from whom would have possessed the same pathogenic property."

Dr. Foster Palmer is cited as saying that "the pathogenic microbe is powerless to cause disease in a healthy organism." Whence the writer deduces the moral that we should be more careful about maintaining the general health of the system than in hunting down the poor microbe, who is only harmful when coming from and entering into diseased or impaired organisms.

GUTENBERG AND THE YELLOW JOURNALIST.

THE editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, in his "Musings Without Method," pays a compliment to the "yellow" journalism of the United States in his account of a supposed encounter in Hades between Johann Gutenberg, the printer whose jubilee has lately been celebrated in Germany, and the young editor of a New York newspaper of the "yellow" variety. (We are to understand that this school of journalism flourishes only in America—and Shanghai. *Blackwood's* editor could find no instances nearer home.) The interview between these two interesting personages is supposed to be conducted as follows:

"SCENE—A meadow in Hades. Gray shadows flit in and out the distant trees. Apart from the rest sits Johann Gutenberg, bearded and austere, meditating perchance on his famous Bible of the thirty-seven lines, or upon the infamous extortion of the cunning Fust. To him there slides up a Yellow Editor, who, leaping from his silent, intangible automobile, flourishes a phantom cigar, and thus addresses the sage:

"Well, Mr. Gutenberg, I'm glad to know you! You and I ought to be acquainted. Where should I have been without your movable little types? Why, nowhere at all! And though it's a sorry business to meet you here, where they print no special editions and have no limelight displays, we must do the best we can, and——"

"Gutenberg (breaking in upon him). But I know not whom I have the honor to hear.

"Yellow Editor. What, don't you know me—the best-advertised man in two continents? I am—or rather I was when I walked the upper air—the Boy Editor of New York. Does that say nothing to you?

"Gut. No; I am still in the dark.

"Y. E. Well, well, I guess you've no telephone hitched on to Hades, or you'd know me fast enough. I must see to that, now I've come among you. Why, I'm the first man who ever saw the real possibilities of your tip. If it hadn't been for me the printing-press would have slumbered on another five hundred years without shaking the world. You never realized what could be done with the biggest circulation.

"Gut. Circulation? What is it? I don't understand the word.

"Y. E. (with an outburst of laughter). You don't begin to know your own trade! Circulation is the soul of the printing-press. We editors don't print 'copy' to keep it in the cellar. We cover the earth with our newspapers. Why, when I was in the business, I printed more stuff in one night than you and Fust did in both your lives. Three millions of readers a day, my boy, ready to believe any lie you print—that makes a man feel big!

"Gut. But when I was making my Bible, whose memory is an eternal consolation, I was proud if I printed a dozen sheets a week.

"Y. E. A dozen sheets a week of a Bible! No wonder you came near starvation. The truth is, you missed your chance. How you might have made Mainz hum if you had started a paper, and kept the secret! No competition, for you alone had the press! And if you wanted money, you should have got a syndicate to run you, and then you might have done as much as I did. Where's the use of a noble patron, I should like to know? The people's the only true patron, and——"

"Gut. You say you have accomplished much. Have you, too, left works of art behind you which rival in nobility of design and splendor of type the masterpieces which have made me glorious?

"Y. E. Splendor of type! What are you talking about? I only want a press that'll rattle me out half a million copies in a couple of hours. That's good enough for me. And the ink may be as pallid as these shades, and the paper may crinkle up like wood-chips. I guess it will last a day, and to-morrow it will be forgotten in new scandals and fresh headlines.

"Gut. But surely we have not pursued the

same craft! I was only interested in the perfection of my work. When the beautiful page was finished my task was done. Who purchased my bibles I recked not; nor did I ever dream of this base artifice which you call circulation. But at least, when I died at Eltville, I had the satisfaction of an assured immortality. And you? Are you still known among your fellows of the upper earth?

"Y. E. Not I! One nail drives out another. But which is the better—fame while you live or fame after death? Give it me piping hot when I can enjoy it. The people on Broadway used to point the finger at me, and I might have governed my country if I liked. And look at the power I had! I ran the whole show as I would; and with no other aid than the types of your invention I made war, or insisted on peace. Not only could I force men to do what I chose, I could force 'em to believe what I chose. Any fool can make the truth credible; it takes a man of genius and a big circulation to thrust falsehood down the public throat. Then, again, there was no great man I didn't call by his Christian name, and I was on easy terms with all the crowned heads. Whom did you know but a common baron? And I was ready to take on anybody's job for a sensation. The criminals feared my reporters far more than they feared the ministers of justice. But then, you see, I was a practical man, and you—you were a dreamer. Yet how much better is the basest practice than the noblest dream!

"Gut. Indeed, if my invention be thus perverted, it were better it had never been made. The printing-press in my hands was an instrument of luxury, not a means of irresponsible power. Yet even my contemporaries called it a black art. What would they say of it now, if they heard your boastful rhetoric? No: it is not for you to claim a kinship with Gutenberg. Truth and lies, beauty and squalor, do not acquire the same value because they are both printed.

"Y. E. Well, well, don't get huffy about it. I don't wonder you are a bit jealous, but I'll come and tell you more about it another day. You'd like to hear how I interviewed the prize-fighters, I'm sure, and perhaps I'll find you in a better temper. So long! (And the Yellow Editor is whisked out of sight by his automobile.)"

THE IRON DUKE AND THE IRATE PAINTER.

IN the "Pleasant Pastels from Spain," which Mrs. M. L. Woods is contributing to *Cornhill*, she deals, in the September installment, with portraits by Goya. In them she finds, reflected with clever realism, the Spanish court life of a hundred years ago. She blames his age, not him, for the stiff pose and affected mien of his portraits. She closes her interesting study with the following story of the passage between the painter and Wellington, who had recently entered Madrid in triumph from his victory at Salamanca:

"In the Quinta, then, waits the proud, irascible Spanish painter, accustomed to be treated by kings and nobles with a deference at that time not accorded to genius in England; his temper, too, hardly improved by his terrible infirmity—deafness so hopeless that he could not hear a cannon fired at four paces from him. To him enters the haughty, uneducated Briton, busy, doubtless, grudging the hour which was all Goya required to sketch in a portrait, and regarding the painter-fellow as a kind of tradesman, bound to supply goods as per order. Alava, Wellington's Spanish friend, was there, and also a young man—Goya's son. When Goya had worked at the sketch awhile, he showed it to the duke. Obviously Wellington was no more competent to give an opinion on a picture than Goya was to plan a campaign; but this does not seem to have struck him. He called the thing a daub, emphasizing his uncomplimentary remarks with gestures, and desiring Goya's son to repeat them to the painter. The son declined to do so, and, together with Alava, endeavored to reason with the strange art-critic. In vain; El Lord's contempt only became more vocal. Meantime the deaf man watched, with thunder lowering on the massive brow, a stormy out-thrust of the big under-lip, the very mane of him electric with rage. Now El Lord clapped on his hat, and haughtily, without further civility, prepared to depart. Then the storm burst. A brace of loaded pistols happened to be upon the table; Goya seized them and leaped toward the duke. Wellington's hand flew to his sword; Alava just succeeded in hurling himself between them, while the son struggled with his father, endeavoring to tear the pistols from his hands. So, in towering wrath, the victor of Salamanca was hustled out of the house of the yet more infuriated painter."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY.

THE October *Century* begins with an exceptionally interesting article on "China's 'Holy Land,'" by Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, being an account of an actual visit to the tomb of Confucius made by the writer. He was one of the two or three white men who have ever penetrated into this sacred ground; and it is remarkable, in the light of this summer's news from China, that he should have been permitted to take the extraordinarily valuable photographs that embellish his article. The safety of the trip was owing, of course, to the occupation of Kiaochau by the Germans; but as there were no railways, carriage-roads, hotels, or any modern comforts of traveling, the journey was not an easy one, even with the caravan and introductions which made life reasonably safe. This "Holy Land" of the Chinese is in the province of Shantung, a territory as large as Michigan, with a population twenty times as numerous. The sacred buildings are on the mountain of Tai-schau, 6,000 feet high. The last stage of the journey to the summit is made over 6,000 stone steps, equivalent to 300 stories of an ordinary house. These steps begin at a stone portal, at which, according to its inscription, the great Confucius himself halted and turned back 2,600 years ago, not having the strength to climb this marvelous staircase. The description and pictures of the tomb of Confucius at Tai-ngan-fu give a profoundly impressive hint of the ancient and mysterious civilization of the great nation which now seems doomed.

THE REVIVAL OF MINIATURE PAINTING.

Pauline King, writing on "American Miniature Painting," says that the history of contemporary work in this dainty and fascinating art began when Miss Laura C. Hills and Mr. William J. Baer turned their attention to painting on ivory. Miss King reminds us that the present vogue of miniature painting is by no means a new departure, but is a revival of the very oldest known form of the art.

THE CHINESE AS A BUSINESS MAN.

Mr. Sheridan P. Read, an ex-United States consul at Tientsin, describes "The Chinese as Business Men." He gives the Chinaman credit for possessing, alone among all the Orientals, mercantile honor of the highest standard. He invariably delivers his goods, and of the quality that is expected. In consequence of this characteristic, our cotton goods are sold to the North China dealers almost entirely on credit, which is essential for the purchaser, as he resells to small dealers on time. Mr. Read says that a reactionary movement against the present disturbances will originate, not with the official, not with the literati, but with the common coolie and the staid, sensible, clear-eyed merchant, both of whose interests, together with those of the native producer, are everywhere suffering. He thinks that many more treaty ports should be opened, as the treaty port furnishes the ground where the Chinaman may naturally grow away from his superstitions and meet the Caucasian on safe ground.

BISHOP POTTER AGAINST CHINESE PARTITION.

Bishop Henry C. Potter, writing on "Chinese Traits and Western Blunders," ends his article with a protest against the partition of the Flowery Kingdom among the great powers. "There could not be a more stupid or shameless policy. A nation, like a man, has a right to be until she has demonstrated unmistakably her incompetence to administer her own affairs with equal justice to all. It cannot be maintained that China has so far descended the path of national decay and disintegration."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the October *Harper's Magazine*, Mr. H. H. Lowry writes on "The Chinese Resentment," in an article which we have quoted from in another department.

POULTNEY BIGELOW ON THE CHINESE ARMY.

Mr. Poultney Bigelow begins the number with an account of "Wei-hai-Wei," as he saw it two years ago. In the course of his description of this strategic position which Japan was deprived of by the intervention of Germany and Russia, after her plucky victory over China, Mr. Bigelow gives some curious facts in regard to the Chinese regular army. The strategy and tactics of this army, he says, form a volume of classics compiled two thousand years ago, and this can be read only by certain scholars; and the Chinese officers are, as a rule, drawn from a social class so low that they can rarely read and write their own tongue. He says the foreigners who have been brought to China as military instructors are treated as social inferiors. Their work is looked down upon with contempt by all officials; and even when they have got their Chinese recruits into some kind of fighting shape, these are drafted off under native control, and soon drift back to the condition of the mob. China has on paper a fighting force of nearly 2,000,000 men; but the men are mostly mere coolies, and their officers scarcely better. A Chinese second-lieutenant gets \$25 in gold a year, with allowances amounting to less than \$100. The colonel of a regiment gets less than \$300 in gold, with allowances fluctuating between \$300 and \$1,000.

IS ALCOHOL A GOOD FOOD?

Prof. W. O. Atwater, writing on the much-mooted question of "The Nutritive Value of Alcohol," goes into the chemistry of alcohol as a food, and proves that the alcohol usually in beverages is easily absorbed from the alimentary canal and readily oxidized in the body. He shows, further, with considerable scientific detail, that alcohol can supply the body with heat, and that it also probably yields energy for muscular work, but admits that it is difficult to prove the latter absolutely. These statements are, however, qualified by the fact that if taken in any but small quantities there is always a residuum of alcohol which is not used to advantage by the body, and which is in its way poisonous. Professor Atwater shows, too, that alcohol may be all-valuable to the physician in treating particular ill-

nesses. In fact, he says he knows of no other material which, like alcohol, will not have to be digested, can be easily absorbed, is readily oxidized, and will supply the requisite energy. He promises, in a future article, to give the other side of the picture in the pathological effects of alcohol taken unwisely.

Mr. Chalmers Roberts gives a sketch of Mortimer Menpes, the well-known artist, who is such a social lion in London. Mr. Alexander Hume Ford gives an account of the "Waterways of America," which now include 18,566 miles of navigable rivers and canals. We still, however, have a long way to go to catch up to Russia, which has no less than 34,000 miles of interior waterways.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the October *Scribner's*, Mr. Richard Harding Davis describes "The Last Days of Pretoria." Mr. Davis has seen both Boer and British camps, both Boer and British armies, and both Boer and British countries and people. His sympathies are not in doubt. Of this incident in Great Britain's onward march, he says: "As I see it, it has been a Holy War, this war of the burgher crusader, and his motives are as fine as any that ever called a 'minute-man' from his farm or sent a Knight of the Cross to die for it in Palestine. Still, in spite of his cause, the Boer is losing, and in time his end may come, and he may fall. But when he falls he will not fall alone; with him will end a great principle, the principle for which our forefathers fought—the right of self-government, the principle of independence."

WHY TOLSTOY IS NOT DISTURBED.

Mr. Henry Norman gives the first chapter of his serial on "Russia of To-day." He gives much space to an account of his visit to Tolstoy, whom he calls the typical Russian. Mr. Norman says that the Count is not known as a count to any one about his home. He is simply Leo, the son of Nicholas. Mr. Norman wonders that Tolstoy is left in peace by the Russian Government. Except for the suppression of some of his writings, he is not troubled; yet he said to Mr. Norman, as he willingly says to any one with whom he talks: "Three things I hate: autocracy, orthodoxy, and militarism." Mr. Norman says that the general opinion among the advanced Russians is that the police are restrained in this instance by the world-wide scandal that any harsh treatment of Tolstoy would cause.

THE PROFITS OF SLAVE-TRADING.

Mr. John R. Spears, in his third paper on "The Slave Trade in America," gives some remarkable figures of the enormous profits to be made in this traffic—figures which easily explain the fascination of the business. He says, for instance, that the American ship *Venus*, built in Baltimore at a cost of \$30,000, landed a cargo of 860 slaves on the coast of Cuba on which the profit was a trifle under \$200,000 after allowing for the cost of the ship and all other expenses, although the Cuban officials received a bribe of \$27.50 per head. The Baltimore schooner *Napoleon*, measuring but 90 tons, and not by any means worth \$5,000, in those days cleared \$100,000 on a single trip in 1835, when she landed a cargo of young negroes bought at \$16 each and sold for \$360 each. Many times the profit per slave was much greater, and negroes bought at \$12 or \$15 in Africa were sold within a year for \$1,200 or \$1,500. Mr. Spears says

the death-blow to the slave-trade was given when Capt. Nathaniel Gordon was hanged in 1862 for conveying a cargo of 890 negroes from the Congo two years before. There were slavers afloat thereafter, but when it became known that the American people would hang a slaver as a pirate, the end was at hand.

M'CLURE'S MAGAZINE.

IN the October *McClure's*, Mr. Frederic A. Lucas outlines "The Ancestry of the Horse," carrying back the family record over a period of about 2,000,000 years. The animal which was the horse's forebear of 2,250,000 years ago had four toes and was about the size of a fox. *McClure's* shows a picture of this animal of the Eocene age, based on the form and proportions of a skeleton which has been found in the Wyoming Mountains.

Apropos of the Presidential campaign, the opening article of the number is on "The Strategy of National Campaigns" as shown in the reminiscences of the political warfare of the last twenty-five years "by one who has been in the thick of it." The writer gives an exceedingly vivid and interesting inside history of the strategic campaigns since the dramatic episodes of 1876, when Tilden ran against Hayes. It is assumed that the pivotal points of the present campaign will be in the Middle West and in New York. He calls to mind that ever since 1864 the electoral vote of New York has swung like a pendulum between the two great political parties, and that nowhere else in the Union is there such a large army of independent voters. In summing up the claims of the party leaders he says most of the Democratic managers are united in the opinion that there is a chance to win without New York. They expect to carry Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Michigan, and Illinois, all of which went for McKinley in 1896. The Republican managers contend that McKinley cannot be defeated unless he lose New York.

CASTING A GREAT LENS.

An interesting essay in popular science is contributed by Mr. Ray Stannard Baker in his article "Casting a Great Lens." Mr. Baker tells of the work done in the glass-works of Jena, Prussia, where lenses of over four feet in diameter are cast and polished. These works were founded by the activity of Prof. Ernst Abbe, who was the first to lay down exact mathematical formulæ for making lenses. Previously they had been dependent on the experience and the experiments of highly skilled workmen. With the aid of the Prussian Government these works were established at Jena, and now over one hundred new kinds of glasses originated at Jena are manufactured there. To show the wonderful delicacy of the work, Mr. Baker says that an error or one-tenth thousandth of a millimeter in the curve of a lens makes it unsuitable for use in the highest grade of instruments, and that some of the smallest lenses are not larger than a pin-head, and are about as costly as a diamond of the same weight.

LESSONS OF THE SOUTH-AFRICAN WAR.

Dr. A. Conan Doyle discusses some of the lessons of the South-African War, and one of the chief of them, he says, is that the bugbear of an invasion of Great Britain is reduced to an absurdity. "With a moderate

efficiency with the rifle, the able-bodied population of England could, without its fleet, and without its professional soldiers, defy the united forces of Europe." Of the detailed lessons learned in the Transvaal, Dr. Conan Doyle thinks that better shooting and better knowledge of cover for the infantry are the most important items. He thinks the latter will be attained soon by some practicable form of portable bullet-proof shield.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

THE October *Cosmopolitan* opens with an account of "The Organization of the Russian Army," by Lieut. W. C. Rivers, U. S. A. The peace footing of the Russian army is about 36,000 officers and 860,000 rank and file. The war footing is estimated at 63,000 officers and 3,440,000 trained soldiers for the ranks. As no less than 870,000 men in Russia reach the age of 21 every year, it is not difficult to maintain this enormous military establishment; at least not so difficult by any means as in the other European states. Although all citizens are liable for service on becoming 21 years of age, only about 30 per cent. of the men liable actually do enter the service with the colors. The term for active service is four years, after which the soldier passes from the standing army into the reserve. He remains for fourteen years in reserve, being called out each year for a short period of training. All of Russia is divided into thirteen geographical districts, some of them having more than one army corps—29 army corps in all. The peace strength of an infantry regiment is 70 officers and 1,816 men; the war strength 79 officers and 3,874 fighting men. Notwithstanding this huge strength, Lieutenant Rivers thinks the Russian army is not so large, for its uses, as the armies of some other European states, when the extent of the territory and frontier is taken into consideration. It is suspected, too, that on account of the prodigious expenditure required to re-arm and reequip the army with modern apparatus, the equipment is not so up-to-date as with the French and German military organizations.

OUR NAVY IN THE YEAR 1950.

Former Secretary of the Navy William E. Chandler, writing on "Our Navy Fifty Years from Now," says that the typical warship of the twentieth century will be exceedingly swift and readily dirigible, so as to maneuver with ease. It will carry a great many guns of moderate caliber; the very large ship-cannon of to-day will be dispensed with; and all of them will be of the rapid-fire kind, while the shells will be loaded with high explosives, capable of enormous destruction. Senator Chandler advances an interesting theory that the armored ship will be regarded fifty years from now as the mail-clad fighting man is regarded at the end of the nineteenth century. He thinks the enormous plates of armor now used will be dispensed with, because they interfere too much with the activity of the boat. He thinks, too, that less money rather than more money will be spent on each ship, and that fifty years from now it will be considered better to use \$6,000,000 to build two or three small vessels than to risk it all on a single warship.

He predicts that the torpedo will be greatly developed, pneumatic guns will be dispensed with, and that the submarine boat has a great future.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

IN the October *Ladies' Home Journal*, the editor, Mr. Bok, inveighs against the execrable taste shown in the decoration and upholstering of the Pullman cars. "The hideous cord portières, which people of even ordinary taste discarded years ago, are still used to offend the eye. Tasseled fringes which went out of use even previous to the 'rope curtains' still wave merrily on in the Pullman cars. Lambrequins, which housewives of good taste relegated to their garrets a half-score of years ago, are still adjudged in the mind of this man as a means of modern furnishing. Mirrors with bronzed frames on a background of plush—than which, perhaps, nothing could be more garish—were put into a car which came out of the Pullman shops only a week previous to this writing. In fact, this purveyor of furnishings apparently cannot imagine that any material other than plush can be used as a means of furnishing. It is the very material most unsuited for a railroad car, being hot and stuffy in summer and the surest receptacle for soot in winter. Yet hundreds of yards of plush are put into every car that comes from the Pullman shops." Mr. Bok thinks the furnishings of the modern Pullman car have a very important effect in debasing the public standard of taste.

In another editorial the *Ladies' Home Journal* takes up the cudgels for the school boys and girls in protesting against the home-study habit. It is argued that children ought to drop their work when they get home, just as a business man or a professional man drops his work. "Studies should end with the school session, and the rest of the day be for play, fresh air, and exercise. It makes no difference what the cessation of home study means in the readjustment of the school system. That is for our educators to find out and adjust."

In this number of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, Mr. Clifford Howard begins "The Story of a Young Man," in which he attempts to tell the events in the life of Jesus, distinctly and solely in his human career.

Mr. William Perrine contributes a first article in a new series of "Stories of Beautiful Women." Mr. Perrine selects the Baltimore belle, Elizabeth Patterson, who fell in love with Jerome Bonaparte and became his wife.

Mr. Stanley Stokes gives an account of the life of "A Minister Among the Cowboys," and there are stories by Charles Major, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and others.

OUTING.

IN the October *Outing*, Mr. Robert Bruce, writing on "The Place of the Automobile," reminds us that as compared with the horse the automobile is on even terms at the first mile and leaves the animal hopelessly behind in middle and long distances; the total distance capacity of the machine for twenty-four hours multiplies that of the fleetest and strongest horse at least by four. Mr. Bruce thinks that the electric hydro-carbon and steam-power vehicles, already successfully established in use, will be developed to a vast degree on special lines. America is now making her own pleasure automobiles, and exporting them, too, while the high-speed racing-machines are generally imported.

Mr. Charles Frederick Holder gives a chapter on shark-fishing, considering the beasts as game. He says he has taken sharks from 60 to 100 pounds with a 12-ounce rod and a 21-thread line. Larger sharks of 12

or 15 feet are considered game for 20 men. Two or three hook the fish, the others take the rope, and the big brute is run up on the beach. Mr. Holder likes to catch such fish as these single-handed from a boat.

Mr. Edwin Sandys gives an excellent account of "The Woodcock and His Ways;" Mr. W. J. Henderson tells how college football was played twenty-five years ago; Mr. H. S. Babcock writes on "Poultry Breeding in the United States," and there is an article on "Russian Hunting Methods." In Mr. Nathaniel A. Cole's sketch of "The Development of the American Trotter," he gives the extraordinary history of the Hambletonian breed, tracing its origin back to the original great Hambletonian, foaled in 1849. It is a remarkable fact that of the great trotting horses of to-day no less than 90 per cent. trace their ancestry to this one horse. The original Hambletonian attained a mild success at three years of age, when he trotted a public trial in 2.48; but his success did not really commence until he was nearly twenty years old, when he became famous for the feats of his children.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

THE complete novel in the October *Lippincott's* is a story of Tarleton's Raiders in the War of the Revolution, with a title of "My Captive," by Mr. Joseph A. Altsheler.

Dr. C. C. Abbott, the nature essayist, contributes a pleasant study of "Autumnal Odors," descriptive of his experiences in odor-hunting of an October morning.

Mr. Kinnosuke, the Japanese author, has a tragical story, "Goro." The late Stephen Crane's descriptions of "Great Battles of the World" are continued in the Battle of Solferino, and there is a chapter from a forthcoming volume by Virginia T. Peacock, "Belles of America," on Mary Victoria Leiter, who married Lord Curzon and now helps him maintain the establishment of Viceroy of India.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

IN the October *Atlantic Monthly*, President James B. Angell discusses "The Crisis in China," and Mr. Edward Stanwood broaches a scheme for "Voting by Mail," both of which contributions we quote from in another department.

OF INTEREST TO WESTERN MORTGAGE HOLDERS.

A writer subscribing himself "Referee" gives, under the title "The Seven Lean Years," an extraordinarily clear-headed account of the great business in Western farm mortgages, which was at its height about 1888-90, and which collapsed in 1893 with terrible results to small Eastern investors. This writer, who has a most unusual acquaintance with both the inside facts and the economic principles involved, shows that the worst of the disaster came from the insistence by Eastern investors on mortgages paying more than 6 per cent. These could only be obtained by going into the western regions of Kansas and those parts of Nebraska and the Dakotas where the rainfall was uncertain. He shows how ignorant investors were of the geography and physiography of that region of the West—the New England lenders assuming that one Nebraska or Kansas farm was as good as another, although there is as much distance between one end of Nebraska and the other as there is between Buffalo and Boston. When the great

crowd of emigrant agriculturists had come to grief in the lean years of the early nineties, those mortgages which had been made in the western part of Kansas and the western and northwestern parts of Nebraska—vast regions—became worthless, both as to principal and interest. Doubtless, from the investor's point of view, the most interesting part of "Referee's" analysis of the situation will be what he has to say concerning the future of these unlucky ventures. This is certainly not encouraging. Of the defaulted loans due small Eastern investors he thinks that probably nothing will ever be paid by the borrowers of either principal or interest on as many as one in twenty. In fact, he says most of the borrowers have left the lands mortgaged, with no expectation of ever returning, and it would be needless to trace them. He advises the many Easterners who hold these unlucky securities to consult some firm making a business of caring for such loans. Some such action should be taken quickly, as the land behind the mortgage will be otherwise wholly cut out by a foreclosed tax lien.

A PLEA FOR FINE NEEDLEWORK.

In "A Plea for American Needlecraft," Ada Sterling protests against the policy of our art schools in confining their attention to the teaching of drawing, painting, and designing. She says that in all the foremost countries except the United States the manufacture of lace is encouraged as a source of social good, and the ambition of the needlewomen is stimulated by the extensive patronage of the rich. The demand for fine lace is always present, and in fact has not varied appreciably in 500 years. This writer thinks that Congress will not refuse the admission of qualified teachers who will be attracted to America for a proper establishment of the industry; and she calls for a coterie of moneyed women to be formed in each large city, who will pledge themselves to support the industry by purchasing and wearing lace locally produced. If this were done, she thinks another five years would see "this gentlest of all strictly feminine occupations in a thriving condition."

Mr. Charles H. Moore contributes an excellent study of "John Ruskin as an Art Critic;" a capital account of "The Capture of a Slave" is given by Mr. J. Taylor Wood, who as a midshipman was in command of the prize in question, taken off the mouth of the Niger; and there is a discussion of "Our Immigrants and Ourselves," by Kate H. Claghorn.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN the opening article of the September *North American*, Canon Farrar, writing on "Imperialism and Christianity," argues that "a war waged in the cause of truth and right, though it may be a very terrible necessity, yet in human history still continues to be at times a necessary duty, even for the most Christian nation, and is in no way at conflict with the obligations by which every true Christian is eternally bound." Just as law courts and policemen and prisons are necessary, so, in Canon Farrar's view, there must from time to time be appeals to the decision of war. Otherwise, the triumph of robbery, oppression, greed, and injustice would be certain.

THE DUTY OF THE GOLD DEMOCRAT.

President Melville E. Ingalls, of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company, contributes a pointed article

on the duty of Democrats, addressing his arguments particularly to those Democrats who voted for Palmer and Buckner, as well as to those who voted for McKinley, four years ago. As a Democrat who supported McKinley in 1896, Mr. Ingalls is now convinced that the financial question is still the paramount issue; but he believes that there are certain other issues on which, after the silver question is finally settled, the Democratic party may with success appeal to the people for support. These issues, as they suggest themselves to his mind, are reform in governmental administration, economy in governmental expenditure, the taxation and regulation of oppressive trusts and combinations, and the enactment of a just and honest scheme of colonial government. He advocates a law compelling the trusts to pay a license-tax to the federal Government. The income tax, also, he regards as a step in the right direction, and declares that it should by no means be given up because the last law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Believing that the people will repudiate the issue of "imperialism" in November, Mr. Ingalls holds that the colonial problem will at once become paramount. In his view, the first thing to do is to provide a permanent constitutional barrier against the erection, into States, of our distant possessions.

NIHILISM AND ANARCHY.

In concluding his survey of social and industrial conditions in the various countries of Europe, Mr. Charles Johnston utters the gloomy prediction that the apparent failure of England in the employment of constitutional means in the struggle between labor and capital will have such an influence over all Europe that only anarchy can result—"a war longer and fiercer than any the world has seen, fought in the dark, with weapons forged by modern chemistry and electricity."

THE ASSASSINATION MANIA.

Dr. Felix L. Oswald writes on "The Assassination Mania: Its Social and Ethical Significance." As to methods of dealing with modern assassins, Dr. Oswald regards the Swiss plan of imprisonment for life as the most rational. "The arrangements of modern prisons make suicide almost impossible to wards of the death-watch, and civilized nations should agree to subject convicted anarchists to the same system of surveillance. Life-weary desperadoes may become less ready to run amuck if they know that mankind will compel them to bear the yoke of existence with added burdens."

CATHOLICS AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

Bishop James A. McFaul, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Trenton, discusses the relations of his co-religionists to American citizenship. The bishop declares that American citizens, because they are Catholics, are discriminated against. Since the Constitution of the United States and those of the several States guarantee the rights of conscience to the inmates of public institutions, Bishop McFaul asks, "Why, then, are Catholics obliged to be present at non-Catholic prayers and instructions?" Again, he asks why several Catholic members were not appointed on commissions to our new possessions? The bishop states that in the navy there are only three Catholic chaplains, although a large proportion of the men are of the Catholic faith. In the army, there are but four Catholic chaplains.

CONFUCIANISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Prof. Herbert Allen Giles, writing on the subject of modern Chinese Confucianism, says: "With all its merits, Confucianism is seriously wanting in attractiveness to the masses, who really know very little about it. It is a system for the philosopher in his study, not for the peasant at the plow-tail. It offers no consolations of any kind, save those to be derived from a consciousness of having done one's duty. The masses, who respect learning and authority above all things, accept Confucianism as the criterion of a perfect life. They daily perform the ceremonies of ancestral worship in all loyalty of heart, and then go off and satisfy other cravings by the practice of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism and Taoism, which have so much more to offer by way of reward. Still, wherever Chinamen go, they carry with them in their hearts the two leading features of Confucianism—the patriarchal system and ancestral worship."

THE OUTBREAK IN CHINA.

In the September number of the *North American*, there are four articles on the Chinese crisis. The Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark, president of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, writes on "The Empire of the Dead;" Mr. Alleyne Ireland on "Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril;" Mr. John Foord on "The Root of the Chinese Trouble," and Mr. Stephen Bonsal on "What the Chinese Think of Us." The last-named writer suggests a new policy of international dealing with China. He says: "When we are in a position to exact the punishment of the men who fired upon our legations, whether they be princes of the Clan or Boxers, let us listen to what the Chinese will have to say about the bombardment of the Taku forts. It will be a new departure, and it might work wonders. We might 'civilize' the Chinese by showing them some consideration and treating them with common decency. The old policy of knocking the Chinese over the head has not brought satisfactory results—they have too many heads. A common ground might be reached by admitting, for instance, that it is as possible for Western admirals as for Eastern princes and wild sectaries to do, in hot blood, things they never would have been guilty of upon mature consideration. If we do this, there will be no danger of war, and we shall be spared a conflict into which no one who knows what it may come to mean can think of entering with a light heart."

THE FORUM.

IN the September number of the *Forum*, Prof. Max Müller discusses the causes of the present anti-English feeling among the Germans, reviewing the relations between Germany and England, existing since the time of Lord Palmerston, and contrasting with the foolish and hysterical attitude of the German press toward England the very moderate and well-considered conduct of the German Government. He says: "Every individual German and Englishman ought to know that he may have the destinies of these two great nations in his hand; that he is, in fact, in a certain sense, the representative and ambassador of his country in his own small sphere,—but this sphere is sometimes widening and spreading like a circle caused in a lake by the impact of a small stone. That personal responsibility seems to be far

more truly felt by Russians and Americans than by either Englishmen or Germans."

DEMOCRATS AND THE CURRENCY.

The Hon. George E. Roberts, director of the Mint, writes on "The Kansas City Financial Resolution," presenting cogent arguments against the proposition for an independent American financial system. Such a system, he holds, is opposed to the general trend of order, harmony, intercourse, and common understanding among the nations. Supposing that the State of Pennsylvania should have a monetary system bearing no stable relation to that used in the other States of the Union, would the industries of Pennsylvania be benefited thereby? "A new calculation would be required every day to determine what a given sum in the money of Ohio would be worth in the money of Pennsylvania. A firm with its outlays in Pennsylvania and its income from other States would have its assets in dollars of one value and its liabilities in dollars of another value. Its salesmen outside of Pennsylvania would have to add to its scale of prices a percentage sufficient to cover the possible loss by a variation in the value of the money before payment was made. We have seen that the fluctuations between the money of Mexico and the money of the United States last year covered a range of about 6 per cent." Mr. Roberts shows the absurdity of putting such a handicap as that on a people competing for supremacy in the world's markets at a time when 1 per cent. frequently determines the successful bidder on a contract. If such a charge would be intolerable upon the commerce between the States, Mr. Roberts holds that it would be equally intolerable between the United States and the people who buy annually over \$1,000,000,000 worth of our various products.

THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

The director of the Bureau of American Republics, Mr. W. W. Rockhill, describes the work of that bureau, and offers several suggestions as to its future. This bureau was established in August, 1890, as an outcome of the National American Congress held in Washington in 1889 and 1890. While the bureau is under the supervision of the American secretary of state, its expenses are shared by all the republics composing the union. The bureau disseminates among the people of the United States information respecting the resources and the business opportunities of the Latin-American republics, and on the other hand makes known to South and Central America the many advantages offered to them by the markets of the United States.

CONSULAR INSPECTION.

Mr. Albert H. Washburn, formerly United States consul to Magdeburg, points out the need for a system of consular inspection. Regarding the two bills favorably reported at the last session of Congress, Mr. Washburn says that, while both contemplate sweeping changes, neither is altogether acceptable to the friends of the merit system. Nevertheless, the business men of the country are making practical demands for a more efficient foreign service, and the probability that some kind of remedial legislation will soon pass is now very great. Mr. Washburn is convinced that consular inspection, which has the merit of being practical and within reach, would cure the most flagrant abuses.

WORK AND WAGES IN FRANCE.

Mr. Walter B. Scaife shows that there has been great improvement in the condition of French working-men, although France was nearly 30 years behind Great Britain in beginning legislation on such subjects as the protection of child labor. For sometime past in France, many establishments where only men are being employed have adopted a 10-hour day; while the long days, reaching in some cases even 14 to 15 hours' work, have been imposed in establishments employing women and children. The hours of work in various industries range now from 7 to 14 a day. Coal-miners have been most persistent in demanding the 8-hour day, but have not yet gained it, except for boys under 16 years of age. According to reports received, 11 hours appears to be the general day's work in the center and north of France, and 10 hours the average in the south.

THE NEW CEREAL, THE COTTONSEED.

Mr. Edwin L. Johnson relates the remarkable progress recently made by the cottonseed in the market for cereals. He shows that, point for point, cottonseed has a greater intrinsic value than wheat, while there are raised in the Southern States alone five-sevenths as many bushels of cottonseed as there are raised bushels of wheat in the whole of the United States. Cottonseed is now worth 30 cents a bushel and \$20 a ton on the banks of the Mississippi.

THE CHINESE PROBLEM.

Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, writing on "China Against the World," advocates the immediate restoration of order in the northern provinces by the powers, and the strengthening of the modern party in China. Mr. D. W. Stevens, the present counselor to the Japanese Legation at Washington, who has had wide experience in both Japanese and Chinese politics, discusses the question of "Japan's Attitude Toward China," ridiculing the idea of the "yellow peril," and showing that Japan's present policy is unalterably opposed to any union with China. He declares that Japan's best interests do not lie in territorial aggrandizement in China, but that what she is chiefly seeking is commercial expansion.

THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS COMPARED.

Mr. Henry Litchfield West, comparing the platforms of the two great parties for 1900, decides that the Democratic deliverance presents the stronger case. "True, it is *ex parte* in the highest degree; but the fact remains that, upon its face, the Democratic indictment is much more complete and logical than the Republican demurrer. We find in the former not only a denunciation of imperialism, with an adequate definition of the term, but also a specific assertion of policy for the future. One may not agree with the solution that is offered; but that is, after all, a matter of opinion. The platform asserts that the Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization, and cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government; therefore, the Democrats would give them a stable form of government and their independence under a protectorate." The Republicans, on the other hand, seem to Mr. Washburn to be dealing in glittering generalities. He says that if the policy of the Republican party is to be learned at all, "it must be found, not in

the declaration of the National Convention, but in the utterances of President McKinley and other recognized leaders. Compared with some of these expressions, the platform itself seems sadly lacking in emphasis and definite purpose."

THE CAMPAIGN FROM A DEMOCRATIC POINT OF VIEW.

The Hon. W. J. Stone, of Missouri, examines the prospects of the Democratic party in the present campaign. Mr. Stone shows that, taking the figures of the majorities given in 1896 for McKinley, a change of 23,078 votes, properly distributed, would have given Mr. Bryan the States of California, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, North Dakota, Oregon, and West Virginia, which would have elected him. A change of 38,191 votes would have added Maryland to the Bryan column in addition to the States named, and thus given him the election by a majority of 23 in the electoral college. Of the eight States named, a part were carried by only slight pluralities; and the aggregate opposition vote, not cast for either Mr. McKinley or Mr. Bryan, amounted to 39,438, of which 14,303 were Gold Democratic votes cast for General Palmer. Mr. Stone regards nearly half of the eight States as normally Democratic and all fairly debatable. He also believes that most of the Gold Democrats who deserted the party in 1896 are disposed this year to support the ticket.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Prof. Walter F. Willcox, of the Census Office, contributes an instructive account of the methods employed in taking the census of 1900; Mr. Maurice Baumfeld, New York correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, writes on "The Constitutional Crisis in Austria," and Prof. W. P. Trent on "Mr. Frederic Harrison's New Essays."

THE ARENA.

THE opening article in the September number of the *Arena*, by Mr. Albert Watkins, on the question, "Is Socialism an Element of 'Bryanism'?" has been reviewed in another department.

Dr. Edwin Maxey writes in the September number on "The Eight-Hour Day by Legislation," arguing that the eight-hour day is not only economically possible, but also economically desirable. Dr. Maxey sums up his argument as follows: "In the ultimate analysis the wealth of a country depends upon the intelligence of its people; and, as attested by the public documents of all countries that have adopted the eight-hour system, it has had a beneficial effect upon the intelligence and character of the community." As a matter of experience, Dr. Maxey declares that legislation on this question has been almost invariably successful. So practical a writer as Webb has said: "In no case has the legal adoption of the eight-hour day resulted in any economic disaster."

MONGOLIAN vs. CAUCASIAN.

This number of the *Arena* contains four articles dealing with the Chinese crisis. Mr. Johannes H. Wisby outlines "China's Defensive Strength," showing that so far as equipment and personnel are concerned, the Chinese army and navy are anything but formidable; the Rev. A. Kingsley Glover discusses "The

Philosophic Basis of Chinese Conservatism;" Mr. J. M. Scanlan criticises "Our Asiatic Missionary Enterprise"—his view being that, in the absence of positive knowledge on the subject of comparative religions, each country and people should be permitted to work out its own salvation; in a paper entitled "Prince Hamlet of Peking," Mr. Charles Johnston reviews recent Chinese history with reference to certain proposed reforms in the government.

GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, contributes a paper on "Problems of Government in the Philippines," dealing especially with the demands made by the Filipinos, which have to do with centralization of government, predominance over certain religious orders, and the question of race superiority. Dr. Reinsch also directs attention to the condition of the civil law in the Philippines, remarking that the Spanish colonial law is so intricate and contradictory that it would be almost useless; that litigation, in consequence, is full of delays and pitfalls, and that in general the civil law of the Philippine Islands is almost in the condition of that of China. The Filipinos themselves, however, have manifested not a little talent for jurisprudence.

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN AFRICA.

Mr. Day Allen Willey outlines some of the possibilities of American trade in the Dark Continent; these lie chiefly in the direction of railway materials and mining machinery. There is already a fair trade between the United States and Cape Colony and some of the other sections of Africa. Two steamship lines are in regular service from New York, while nearly all the passenger companies operating fleets between New York, Liverpool, and London have close connections with the Castle and other lines sailing direct for South Africa, by which tickets can be sold in New York City for a single or round trip to Cape Town.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

Mr. William Brough writes on "India's Famine and Its Cause." This writer's explanation makes the famine of 1900, as well as that of 1897, the direct consequence of the demonetization of silver in 1893, whereby a fictitious value was given to the rupee. According to his philosophy, the effect of demonetization was to discourage the practice of saving. The Indian peasants had long been accustomed to put all their savings into silver bangles or other silver ornaments, depending upon these small hoards to bridge over a season of short crops or famine. Demonetization robbed these trinkets of a portion of their marketable value, and deprived them of that superiority in stability and exchangeability over all other commodities which they formerly possessed. Mr. Brough declares that silver is the only metal that can serve the monetary needs of India, and she must have it in abundance if she is ever to rise above famine conditions.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. T. Scanlon writes on "Great Britain and the 'Trust' Problem;" Carina Campbell Eaglesfield on "Growth of National Feeling in Germany," and Dr. William H. Van Ornum on "The Study and Needs of Sociology."

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

IN our department of "Leading Articles of the Month" we have quoted from Prof. John B. Clark's incisive article on "The Latest Phase of the Trust Problem," in *Guntton's* for September.

An unsigned article on "Types of Anti-Expansionists" classifies the opponents of President McKinley's policy as the "Bryan-Crocker" type, the "Schurz-Atkinson" type, and the "Hoar-Edmunds" type. The first of these three types represents, for the most part, purely partisan motives. Mr. Bryan and the Silver and Tammany Democrats are opposed to territorial expansion mainly because it is the administration's policy. The Schurz-Atkinson type of anti-expansionists, on the other hand, cannot be said to have any party; hence, is not influenced by partisan motives. "Anti-expansion with them is not the advocacy of a constructive political principle, but a means of helping Bryan to defeat the administration, which according to their own confession means aiding a policy of national disaster in the name of political righteousness." The Hoar-Edmunds type, while no less opposed to the policy of distant colonies governed outside of the Constitution than are the Schurzes and Atkinsons, is still not willing to risk the prosperity of the nation by intrusting the reins of government to Bryan. It is with this latter type of anti-expansionists that the writer of the article seems most fully to sympathize.

RURAL FREE POSTAL DELIVERY.

Mr. Charles Burr Todd gives an interesting account of the experiments conducted by the Post-Office Department, in recent years, in the extension of free delivery of mails to the rural communities of the country. Assistant Postmaster-General Heath's report for 1899 shows among the benefits of this system increased postal receipts, enhancement in value of farm lands reached by rural delivery, a general improvement in the condition of roads, better prices obtained for farm products, besides the general educational benefits conferred by relieving the monotony of farm life through ready access to wholesome literature. Carroll County in Maryland is the only county in the United States wholly served by the rural free-delivery system. In that county the Government has established a post-office on wheels—a postal-wagon eight feet long, with a sliding door in the center, and the interior fitted up with counter, drawers, and letter-boxes. The wagon is drawn by two stout horses, has a driver and a postal clerk (the latter authorized to perform all the functions of a stationary postmaster), and covers a route of thirty miles daily, collecting mail from sixty letter-boxes placed at intervals of every half-mile, and delivering mail to all the houses by the way. The total cost of the service last year was \$1,375. It takes the place of eight fourth-class post-offices and of four star-route carriers, the combined cost of which was about \$1,600.

A COUNTRY WITHOUT DIALECTS.

In concluding his series of papers on the racial origin and composition of the people of the United States, Mr. Moulton Emery dwells on the predominance of the English element, not only in blood, but in language. He says: "There are no dialects in this country. The speech of the Pennsylvania Dutch, the Louisiana Creoles, and the New Mexican 'Greasers' cannot fairly be counted as such. Those communities repre-

sent the fruits of capture, purchase, and conquest, and naturally are slow to forget their mother-tongues. Except among them, and here and there a colony of newcomers, one may travel over the whole country, North, South, East, and West, without finding the slightest difficulty in making himself understood. Indeed, he will find the same language spoken everywhere, as a rule, in all its purity. One swallow does not make a summer, nor do a few provincialisms make a dialect. The dialects of American dialect-writers exist wholly in their imaginations. Of no people in Europe can the same be said, even of the most enlightened nationalities."

Mr. Archer B. Hulbert writes on "The Root of Evil in Japan," and Lys d'Aimée on "The Menace of Present Educational Methods."

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY.

THIS able review continues its practice of publishing, in each number, a few articles of considerable length on varied subjects of current interest. In the September and October numbers are two papers by M. Alfred Rambaud on "The Extension of Russia."

In the September number, Mr. Adna F. Weber sums up "The Tendency in Trade-Unionism." Mr. Weber states that the general prejudice of the American daily press against those combinations of labor that conflict with the interests of capital has caused the establishment of a distinctly labor press, organized in an association of over three hundred papers. Besides the organs of the national trade-unions, there are local weekly papers published or subsidized by city central-labor unions, which are rapidly increasing in number and influence. Even widely circulated socialistic papers sometimes express trade-union sentiments, while some of the trade-union organs boldly advocate collectivist principles.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN PARTY POLITICS.

In the October number, Senator George F. Hoar writes on "The Importance of Government by the Republican Party," and Prof. A. D. Morse on "The Significance of the Democratic Party in American Politics." Senator Hoar declares that "everything that has been accomplished in this country for fifty years, everything that has been achieved by this country for the world, has been accomplished by the Republican party, having almost always to encounter the bitter and steadfast opposition of the Democracy." Mr. Morse, on the other hand, while he admits that "in giving shape to public policy the Democratic party has had only a qualified success," that "in political construction the greatest builders have not been Democrats," and that "as a rule Democrats have succeeded better in tearing down than in building up," still holds that "to exclude the party of the people permanently from office is to destroy its usefulness as their teacher, and to bring to an untimely end American democracy."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other subjects treated in the September and October numbers of the *International* are "The Use of Bacteria in Our Food Products," by Prof. H. W. Conn; "The American School of Historians," by Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart; "The Conflict in China," by Dr. Edmund Buckley; "Primitive Objects of Worship," by L. Marillier; "The New Italy," by Salvatore

Cortesi, and "Recent Progress in Geology," by Prof. Andrew C. Lawson. These papers do not readily lend themselves to summarizing.

JOURNALS OF POLITICS AND SOCIOLOGY.

THE current (September) numbers of the political and economic journals issued from the leading American universities all contain pertinent articles on the political topics uppermost in the present campaign. In the *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia University), for example, Prof. J. W. Burgess has an able discussion of "The Relation of the Constitution of the United States to Newly Acquired Territory." Construing the Constitution from the points of view of the history of its formation and of its spirit, Professor Burgess concludes that Congress possesses no power to impose customs-tariffs between the United States and her dependencies on the lines of the Porto Rican legislation of last winter. He declares that "there is nothing more clearly revealed by an historical and scientific study of the Constitution than that the founders intended to establish freedom of trade, commerce, and intercourse in ideas and commodities throughout all land and country subject to the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, and were confident that they had done so. They considered this principle to be the chief bond, the grand cementing bond, of the Union, as it has been and still is."

In the September number of the *Quarterly*, there is also an elaborate analysis of the currency law of March 14, 1900, contributed by Prof. Joseph French Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania.

THE ETHICS OF EXPANSION.

In the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia), Mr. Talcott Williams writes on "The Ethical and Political Principles of 'Expansion.'" Mr. Williams' point of view is social rather than constitutional. His position is well exemplified by the following quotation from his article: "When any nation finds itself, as the United States did, with responsibility for subtropical regions, which the experience of the past and the conditions of the present show to be incapable of creating either self-government or public order, the duty of the hour is to accept the burden and the responsibility for creating that one environment of self-government which, as we began by saying, is the best environment for the self-controlled individual. The issue at this point is not, therefore, one of inalienable right to self-government, or to be settled by a fervid appeal to the principle of the 'consent of the governed,' but one of fact as to whether, at a given place and date, the conditions existed for self-government as a reasonable and present possibility."

THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

In the *American Journal of Sociology* (University of Chicago), Dr. Max West has a paper on "The Fourteenth Amendment and the Race Question." Dr. West, after showing that the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, intended mainly for the benefit of the negroes, has been applied by analogy to the Chinese also, and its protection extended in the course of time to railroad and turnpike corporations, directs our attention to the fact that the second section, providing for

the apportionment of representatives in Congress, has been strangely neglected. This second section, which would reduce the representation in Congress of States which abridge the suffrage, Dr. West holds should be strictly enforced. "This provision was intended especially to prevent the disfranchisement of the negro, and, as if with prophetic foresight, it was expressed in such general terms that it unquestionably applies even to disfranchisement through educational tests; yet its language is so mathematically explicit that it requires no interpretation, but requires simply to be enforced."

THE INCOME TAX.

Dr. West also contributes the leading paper appearing in the *Journal of Political Economy* on the subject of "The Income Tax and the National Revenues." Dr. West shows that the income tax is no more favorable to the poor than many other forms of taxation. "It falls most heavily, not upon the largest incomes, but upon those whose amount can be least readily concealed. The man with a salary cannot escape; the man of wealth can, according to the elasticity of his own conscience. The income tax punishes honesty and puts a premium upon perjury. There is nothing in the nature of the tax which makes it easier to assess justly than the State taxes on personal property; the superior Federal administration might save it from becoming a farce (as the still better administration of Prussia makes it a partial success), but could never make it operate equally."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

IN the *National Review* for September, "Ignotus," writing on "Japan and the New Far East," enlarges on the military prestige lately acquired by Japan in China, commenting on the fact that the army of occupation sent by Japan outnumbered the forces of the other allies in the ratio of two to one. "Ignotus" compares, with the compact organization of the Japanese troops, "the mere collection of weak brigades which make up the allied army." From the strength of Japan's force now in the field, "Ignotus" reasons that, whether or no the European powers like to recognize the fact, Japan must take a predominant place in the eyes of the Chinese. As to the alleged Russian understanding with the Japanese, "Ignotus" dismisses this hypothesis as utterly improbable. He declares that no Japanese statesman would for a moment further Russia's reconquest of Manchuria, while, on the other hand, Japan is making her position each day more and more secure. "Five hundred thousand soldiers, a match in intelligence, bravery, and organization for the best Westerners, supported by a powerful fleet, are a strong reminder that prudence and forbearance are necessary in dealing with Japan—especially when Japan is upon the spot, and when the West is ten thousand miles away. Whatever the present, the future is to Japan."

A FRANCO-GERMAN ALLIANCE.

In an article on "The Foreign Policy of the German Empire," Sir Rowland Blennerhassett discusses the possibility of a Franco-German alliance. He admits that to many people in England such an alliance would seem a fantastic dream; but he calls upon such persons to remember that, even when the memories of 1870 were fresh in the minds of Frenchmen, the idea commended

itself both to German and to French statesmen. He declares that there are now many men of influence in France strongly in its favor, and that both in Germany and in France there is an active school at work preparing the minds of their countrymen for such a combination. He thinks that the basis of such an alliance would be that France and Germany should enter into a customs-union with Belgium and Holland. The project of a customs-union between Germany and Holland is, at the present moment, widely discussed in both countries. This writer ascribes the enthusiasm for the Boer cause in Germany largely to the policy of the authorities, formed with a view of acquiring for Germany the sympathies of the people of Holland. He says that customs-unions would be followed by the acquisition by France of the Belgian railways on a similar plan to that which the government of Napoleon III. formed in 1868. Military and naval conventions between France and Germany, on the one side, and Belgium and Holland would follow. He states that it is now known, on the undoubted authority of the Emperor Frederick, that just such a scheme was proposed to Germany after Sedan.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Mr. John Foreman, a well-known authority on the people and resources of the Philippine Islands, attempts an answer to the question, "Will the United States Withdraw from the Philippines?" Mr. Foreman's article resolves itself into a proposition to extricate this country from the dilemma in which he thinks she has become involved. His plan is that the American governor-general be authorized to inform the representative Filipinos that the United States policy is to gradually but conditionally relinquish control over the islands. A Philippine chamber of deputies, representing the large towns and districts, should hold its session in Manila, and vote laws for the internal government of the islands. The statutes of the Philippine protectorate should be submitted to the United States governor-general or to commissioners appointed for the purpose, who would see that the rights of foreigners would be duly protected. For the reimbursement to the United States of the \$20,000,000 (gold) paid to Spain under the Treaty of Paris, the Philippine protectorate should issue to the United States \$40,000,000 (silver) in bonds bearing interest at a rate to be agreed upon and payable half-yearly, the Philippine protectorate undertaking to redeem annually a minimum of 5 per cent. of the bonds after the expiration of two years. The guarantee should be the customs dues collected by Philippine officials, but subject to an American control in Manila, and the ports open to foreign trade. Within three or four months after the first payment of interest on the bonds, the military governor and troops should be withdrawn, and America, as the protecting state, should be represented in Manila by a resident and staff. In the event of civil war, America should have the right to land troops to support the government against the rebels. Mr. Foreman believes that a military and naval station should be retained by the United States. He thinks that, as a compensation for protection, the Filipinos would very willingly grant exclusive trading privileges to the United States for a term of years, extending at least over the period of their financial indebtedness. Hence America would gain all the right-ful advantages of occupation—viz., predominance in trade and an outlet for capital.

THE COAL PROBLEM.

Writing on the coal question, Mr. A. D. Provand, M.P., compares the transportation charges of England with those of the United States. He shows that the rates on coal in the United States for long hauls exceeding a hundred miles are from one-third to one-fourth what they are in Great Britain. The English rolling-stock is also deficient. In the United States the standard coal-car carries 30 tons, while the capacity of the English cars is only from 8 to 10 tons, with a few of 12 tons. It is thus easy to see that American railroads can carry coal profitably for much lower rates than the English railroads. Mr. Provand shows that in England a 150-mile haul would add fully seven shillings a ton to the cost of the coal, whereas in the United States it would add only about two shillings. He says that before English railways can rival American railways in coal-carrying, they will have to reconstruct their plants—turntables, sidings, cars, and locomotives.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Ralph George Hawtrey writes on "The School-boy's View of Schoolmasters;" Mr. W. J. Ford on "Drawn Matches at Cricket;" the Rev. H. C. Beeching on "Expression in Poetry;" Mr. Adrian Hofmeyr on "An Africander's Reflections on the Future of South Africa," and there is an anonymous article on "The House of Commons from the Ladies' Gallery."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE September number rises very much above the *Westminster* average. There is no less reforming ardor, but panaceas are less obtrusive. Militarism and jingoism form the chief enemy, though not to the exclusion of constructive proposals. Mr. Maurice Johnson's defense of microbes has been noticed elsewhere.

WAR NOT THE ONLY SCHOOL OF VALOR.

War "is the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men." This saying of Ruskin rouses Mr. Walter J. Baylis to ask, "Is War a Blessing?" His conclusion is:

"Surely life is difficult enough under ordinary conditions, and furnishes sufficient opportunities for the display of both physical and moral courage, without our going afield to create new opportunities. This cannot be disputed, at any rate, so far as moral courage is concerned; while as a school for physical courage we have the lifeboat service, the fire brigade, the fever hospital, the slums and alleys of our great towns, and the chastising of bullies, besides polar expeditions and the exploration of other distant and dangerous regions. We have mountaineering, ballooning, and, last but not least, *opposing the present war*, which requires considerable courage in some company! *Pace* John Ruskin, we cannot believe that it is absolutely necessary that nations should be either manslaughterers or cowards."

Nora Twycross follows with a paper on the clergy and the Boer War, wherein she rebukes the jingo parson, but does not forget the faithful among the faithless found. She is inclined to think "there is a deeper feeling of revolt against militarism than has ever been cherished before."

THE FOLLY OF CONSCRIPTION.

"The Case Against Conscription" is vigorously stated by Mr. A. W. Livesey. He observes that the privileged classes have never taken the initiative in increasing the British navy; they have only poured cold water on those who insisted on a big fleet, but have always been eager to increase the army, even to the extent of introducing conscription. The fleet, Mr. Livesey says, is not a standing menace to England's liberties, and adds no power to the ruling classes. His general contention he thus sums up:

"It has been shown that, while the establishment of a colossal standing army or of conscription must inevitably sound the knell of English liberties, on the other hand those classes of the community who imagine that they would derive solid advantages from such a retrogressive measure are living in a fool's paradise; for, like all other classes, they would suffer both directly and indirectly from it—the military classes themselves, even, being sufferers with the rest of us. Moreover, it has been shown that all rapid advancement in civilization and the arts is made in times of peace, while the military spirit, and military organization and habits of mind, are antagonistic to all such progress, and by causing a marked limitation of the producing powers of a country—which means inferior nourishment and worse physical conditions for the masses—indirectly lowers the vitality and energy of a race, constituting a serious diminution of its ultimate chances in the international struggle for the survival of the fittest."

The assumption that a colossal army is necessary for purposes of imperial defense is denounced as absurd.

LIGHT FROM "DARKEST ENGLAND."

Mr. Wm. H. Hunt offers General Booth's Hadleigh Colony as "an interesting industrial experiment" in the quest after a remedy for urban congestion and rural depopulation. He quotes figures from the report for 1899, which give "a grand total for the colony of £42,166 2s. 7½d. on the expenditure side, and £40,786 18s. 11d. for income, or a total deficit on the year's working of £1,379 3s. 8½d. In 1898 it was £855 0s. 11d. on an expenditure of £37,612 11s. 5½d.; and in 1897, £750 4s. 10½d. on an expenditure of £35,113 0s. 5d." General Booth "has been dealing with unproductive land by means of unskilled and incompetent men; and yet he has come within measurable distance of making the enterprise pay." Mr. Hunt asks, What might not be done with good land and accustomed laborers? True, he grants, the Salvation Army has the inestimable advantage of disinterested and devoted administrators. But, he argues, we have no right to suppose that disinterested administrators would be wanting were the experiment to be made on a national scale.

"FREEDOM, JUSTICE, VITALITY."

The three laws of social activity are declared by Leonard M. Burrell to be Freedom, Justice, Vitality. These, he finds, necessitate:

"(1) Free competition as to land, the single tax on its values, and laws as to its use. (2) Freedom in work, and trade limited by laws as to kind and quality in productions. (3) Education which shall fit men to follow different industries when competition forces them to change their occupation, and which shall teach them that desire governs activity, and that reason and morality govern desire. That is, I advocate freedom limited by justice and directed by wisdom."

OTHER ARTICLES.

The murder of sleep by night noises in town is the theme of a plaint by Mr. George Trobridge. He advocates the suppression of steam-hooters in factories, and of traction-engines moving by night; the moderation of railway whistling; the use of wood pavement for granite, and the prohibition by the police of night rowdyism.

Harriet McIlquham calls to mind Cornelius Agrippa and his lectures on the nobility and preëxcellence of women (1509).

CORNHILL.

THERE is plenty of readable matter in the September number of *Cornhill*, but very little that lends itself to purposes of quotation.

A remarkably vivid account is given by C. Dimond H. Braine of elephant-hunting in Siam. The wild elephants are beaten up from the jungle, and then decoyed by tame tuskers into the corral with its paling of stout teak-logs. The days set apart for selecting and securing a certain number of elephants form a sort of Derby-day to the people of Bangkok, even though the scene of the sport is fifty miles distant.

WHAT DO FISH LIVE UPON?

Mr. F. G. Aflalo discusses the food of fishes. He laughs at the common fancy that fishes live by the big ones eating the small. He suggests that, "while small fishes are intermittently devoured under favorable conditions, the regular food of even the so-called predatory fishes probably consists of minute entomostraca. As to whether the salmon, in ascending rivers from the sea for spawning purposes, feeds or fasts while away from salt water, he leaves an open question, suggesting that possibly in any case the salmon is during that interval a very irregular and uncertain feeder.

LITERARY FEASTS.

Mr. W. E. Garrett Fisher is impressed with the fact that no anthologist has yet "collected the repasts given by our poets and novelists into a new '*Almanach des Gourmands*.'" He offers hints for repairing this omission, and gathers them under the heading "Feasts in Fiction." He gives Thackeray the palm among all literary gastronomists. He cites also Miss Ferrier, Charlotte Brontë, O. W. Holmes, T. L. Peacock, A. H. Clough, Dickens, Fanny Burney, Miss Austen, Stevenson, Balzac, and Fielding.

EARLY VIEWS OF RUSSIA.

The journal of a tour in the north of Europe in 1825-26, by Charles Earle, is presented in parts by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. C. W. Earle. Earle was in St. Petersburg when Nicholas I. succeeded Alexander I.; and it is strange to be reminded by his diary that the accession of the new Czar was resisted by the Moscow regiment. Artillery and cavalry dispersed the mutineers, with much slaughter. Next day the survivors were pardoned and their regimental colors restored to them. Earle seems to have been badly bitten with Russophobia. He identifies the Russians with barbarism, and declares, "What they aim at is universal dominion in Europe, and the annihilation of our power in the East." He

thinks that the only bulwark that could be erected against Russian aggression in an else divided Europe would be an alliance between France and England. This he conceives to be hardly possible in view of recent wars. In visiting the Crimea he hazards the singular prophecy that Russian policy and Turkish impotence "will make this country, probably at no very distant period, the battlefield of Europe." This prediction is the more singular that the Crimean War when it came found the alliance between France and England, of which he had despaired, an actual fact.

THE FRENCH REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE chief French review remains curiously removed from the immediate current of events. In its numbers for August, with the exception of an article on the Boxers, we do not get nearer to China than a travel paper on the Mekong. A paper on Antarctic exploration is dealt with elsewhere.

PARLIAMENTARIANISM.

M. Benoist has a hopeful article on "Parliaments and Parliamentarianism," in which he traces the geographical limits of popular institutions, and thence derives the conclusion that parliamentarianism, far from being an eternal and universal fact, is, on the contrary, a recent phenomenon essentially European and Western. It is for this very reason, he thinks, that it has proved on the whole so suitable a form of government for the nineteenth century. M. Benoist explains at great length the familiar theory of accord between the executive and the legislative powers; and he goes on to show the necessity for a harmonious balance of the relative strength of the head of the state, the ministers, and the parliament, not one of which can become too strong or too weak without risk of upsetting the whole. As regards France, M. Benoist is strongly in favor of assigning to the president of the republic certain positive powers by way of compensating him for the absence of those mysterious and impressive attributes enjoyed by a constitutional monarchy such as England. For the future he urges the necessity of organizing universal suffrage. How can parliamentarianism be restrained? There are three principal ways—(1) by despotism, as under the French empire, when certain parliamentary privileges were abolished; (2) by popular veto, as occurs in Switzerland under the referendum law; and (3) by judicial action, as in the case of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is hardly necessary to say that M. Benoist prefers the third alternative; but he is inclined to combine it, if possible, with the first. The election of the president of the republic should be, he thinks, withdrawn from the chambers and intrusted to a special college of electors, the composition of which should be a matter of discussion. By some such scheme as this M. Benoist hopes that parliamentarianism will be reconstructed on safe and well-regulated lines.

THE UPPER LAOS AND THE MEKONG.

Mme. Isabelle Massieu continues her interesting travel papers on Indo-China. Her enthusiasm for the scenery is great; but, as we know from other sources, not too great. In one place she notes with horror that the people drank water drawn from streams that were

OTHER ARTICLES.

The story of Sir Thomas Troubridge, ill-starred friend and comrade of Nelson, is told by Mr. W. J. Fletcher as an illustration of the persistent bad luck that occasionally dogs the footsteps of the ablest and bravest.

Mr. MacDonagh recalls the duel which Dan O'Connell fought with a merchant, D'Esterre, who took this method of vindicating the honor of Dublin Corporation, which the great advocate had assailed. It ended fatally for D'Esterre, but bestowed upon O'Connell immense popularity and undying remorse.

obviously poisoned by the bodies of animals which had died of some epidemic. She gives the native of Laos the character of a child of nature, destitute alike of malice, vices, and virtues. The social superiority of the man is marked by a large number of signs and ceremonies. Thus, on one sacred day in the month, the wives come to do *baci* before their husbands; that is to say, they kneel down and beg pardon for the faults which they have committed and the annoyances which they have caused their lords. Divorce, which is very frequent, is conducted in the most polite manner, and is a matter entirely for mutual agreement. The woman who wishes to separate from her husband presents him with some "quids" of betel-nut, says to him that she will consider him henceforth as a relation, and offers him her best wishes for his health; that is enough, and the marriage is dissolved. It is a bad country for lawyers! In the eyes of the woman of Laos the best sort of marriage is one with a European, which is much sought after. The native wife of a European official actually becomes ennobled, and is thereby entitled to associate with the daughters and wives of the native princes.

DRESS AND SHOES.

Vicomte d'Avenel continues his interesting series on "The Mechanism of Modern Life" with a paper on dress and shoes. He notes the curious fact that the essential distinction between masculine and feminine dress is comparatively modern; the robe of a Greek or Roman maiden scarcely differed at all from that of her brother. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the stronger sex practically abandoned long, flowing robes to magistrates, doctors, and priests. Luxury in dress, so much denounced nowadays, reached extraordinary excesses in the Middle Ages; thus, in 1375, the Duchess of Burgundy ordered a robe of cloth of gold to cost \$2,500. Before the introduction of the modern corset, women underwent the most terrible tortures in order to obtain what was considered a good figure, and Catherine de Medici invented a horrible machine which could be made of any hard, inflexible material. The modern corset industry has been practically revolutionized in the last 30 years. In 1870 there were about 4,000 corset-makers in Paris, and they made about 1,590,000 corsets every year; but now the volume of trade has quadrupled. The whole toilette of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen represents annually a total expenditure of 2,000,000,000 francs, and gives employment to about 1,000,000 people. "If your shoes are too narrow," says a proverb of the Kirghiz people, "what does it matter that the world is wide?"—a maxim that will appeal to every one who has suffered from tight shoes. The

French annual production of shoes is estimated at \$160,000,000 worth. The leather comes, as regards the best qualities, from France itself, and the second qualities from South America and the Antilles. Tanned sheepskins are imported from India, and a certain small amount of trade is done in particularly delicate skins, such as those of the antelope and kangaroo. M. d'Avenel goes on to deal with the question of competition, against the work-people of Europe, of the black and yellow races, whose needs, being less, would enable them, it is thought, to accept lower wages; but it is too often forgotten that the taste for luxuries is universal, and when you have given a shirt to a South African savage he is by no means content, but immediately wishes to have himself photographed in it. The Egyptian *fellah* and the Brazilian negro—to take two very different examples—have alike shown a growing taste for more elaborate costumes than their fathers had. It is probable, therefore, that rates of wages will tend to adjust themselves in accordance with the practical needs of the workers, of whatever color they are.

OTHER ARTICLES.

It is certainly an honor of an unexpected kind for Mr. Hall Caine to have a short story of his published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; it seems to be admirably translated. For the rest, Dr. Bonnafy contributes a very clear and useful account of the Société des Œuvres de Mer, founded in 1895, to provide the 16,000 French deep-sea fishermen with the hospital-ships of which, unfortunately, they stand in frequent need; and he also describes other organizations in various countries designed to improve the lot of these lonely workers.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THE *Nouvelle Revue* keeps up well to the higher standard it has lately set itself; but, as many of the regular readers of the *Revue* will note with disappointment, Mme. Juliette Adam's bimonthly letters concerning the trend of foreign politics are omitted.

AN EXPERT'S CRITICISM OF THE BOER WAR.

Capt. G. Gilbert, a distinguished French officer, continues his highly technical account of the South African campaign; and to the many who are now beginning to take an interest in what may be called the theoretical side of the war, his criticisms concerning Magersfontein, Stormberg, and Colenso—that is to say, the operations on the Modder River, in the Orange Free State, and on the Tugela—will be found deeply interesting; the more so that he analyzes at length the Boer and the British methods of warfare. He evidently considers that the leading mistake made by the British generals was that of underestimating their enemy; but he pays a well-deserved tribute to the many individual acts of bravery, and even of good sense, shown by certain minor British officers. He gives a marvelously vivid and powerful account of the Magersfontein disaster; and it is significant that a French officer goes out of his way to again and again pay testimony to the marvelous courage of the British troops. In the first September number Captain Gilbert continues his analysis of the campaign.

CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM IN FRANCE.

In the matter of periodical literature, and even in the matter of fiction, France, at any rate as regards output,

is a hundred years behind England and America. The would-be novelist always publishes his first story at his own expense, and even the most successful writers do not make anything like the huge profits that accrue as a matter of course to their great British rivals. Here every newspaper devotes a certain amount of space to literary criticism; in France, save by two or three leading Parisian sheets, no attempt at anything of the kind is made. Review copies are not sent round to the leading periodicals, and the only way in which a book gets advertised is literally by means of advertisement. It is easy to pay for the insertion of a very flattering notice; but then every intelligent reader is aware that the so-called review has been paid for, often at a very extravagant rate. It must, however, be admitted that there are some half-dozen French writers who give up much of their time to literary criticism, and who are—to their honor, be it said—really incorruptible. They, however, either contribute a weekly signed article to some literary paper, or they publish their conclusions in one or other of the three great bimonthly reviews. Among these literary critics may be especially mentioned MM. Brunetière, Faguet, Lemaitre and Hallays.

FRENCH RED TAPE.

Those who marvel why French life is so terribly encircled with red tape should make a point of reading M. Martin's article entitled "The Reign of Bureaucrats." He points out that the republic owes not a little of its stability to the fact that an enormous number of Frenchmen of the lower and upper middle class are actually in its employment, and are to all intents and purposes its paid servants. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, the Frenchman is essentially a man of stable ideals: he has in him very little of the gambling instinct, and he can make himself happy on a tiny income, provided that income is a sure and certain one. This is why a post under government is regarded as being so desirable. A Frenchman would rather see his son become a clerk in a government office at \$250 a year than the confidential manager of an ordinary business man at a salary ten times that figure. The number of people employed in the great government offices doubles every few years. At the present moment the finance minister alone has under his orders 1,400 employees; and the different ministries, or rather their clerks, absorb a yearly income of 30,000,000 francs, mostly paid away in small salaries. The same system obtains in every provincial town. In 1858 there were 217,000 state employees, costing the country in salaries 260,000,000 francs. Last year the number had just doubled, and the salary list had trebled. The same state of thing obtains, and to an even worse degree, in the French colonies. In Cochin China there are 3,000 French people—men, women, and children; and of these 3,000, 1,700 are civil servants! Indeed, observes M. Martin, Cochin China may be called the paradise of the bureaucracy; the functionaries are in such a majority that they carry a solid vote, and thanks to this fact they are able to decide what their own salaries are to be.

CHINESE WAR-MAKING.

M. de Contenson gives some curious particulars concerning the Chinese methods of making war. Even in the days anterior to the Christian Era the Celestials had an elaborate military theory of their own, and had actually written works on the art of war. These curi-

ous documents—for books they cannot be called—were translated by a French priest, and it is with the help of these translations that the writer has prepared some very instructive pages. According to the Chinaman, everything must be done to avoid an actual declaration of war. "Try and attain victory without having fought a battle," observed the wise Sun-Tze, who was, by the way, a contemporary of Homer. Even in those days the Chinese seem to have had a great belief in scouting, and also in having a regular army of spies. Indeed, it is quite curious to note how the present Chinese Government has followed in its main outlines Sun-Tze's theories regarding how a campaign should be carried on, or, rather, should be initiated. Once matters really come to fighting, the Eastern Wellington has very definite views as to the value of a few disciplined men over a large army. "A small determined army is, under a good general, invincible. Do not seek to gather together too large a force; numbers are more often useless than useful."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Next year will see the publication of a great number of what may be called centennial articles. M. Dubor begins early with an interesting account of Paris in 1800. He gives a rapid sketch of the society of that day, of the costumes worn, and of the amusements and interests of the men and women who had just witnessed the awful upheaval of the French Revolution.

Other articles consist of a short account of the quincentenary of the Cracow University, a review of the state of things produced in Italy by the assassination of King Humbert, and an account of the close friendship which bound the historian Michelet to Quinet.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE August numbers of the *Revue de Paris*, which seems to have taken a new lease of vigorous life, fully maintain the standard for excellence which we have had occasion to notice now for some months past.

THE COMMERCIAL STRENGTH OF GERMANY.

M. de Rousiers begins a series of papers on the economic and social causes of the commercial power of Germany. Of the growth of German commerce there can be no doubt, and the nerve-center of that growth is Hamburg. There may be seen the tangible results of the scientific cultivation of Saxony and Silesia, the spirit distilled in Pomerania and Brandenburg, the machines, the glass, the chemical products—coal, salt, and so on—all, or almost all, drawn by German enterprise and intelligence out of German soil. But M. de Rousiers justly says that it is not enough to estimate and handle these products; it is also necessary to acquaint ourselves with the men to whose efforts they are due. The industrial and commercial movement of Germany is largely due to the Teutonic knack of organization. The employers on the one side and the workmen on the other feel more and more the need for abandoning their isolation and for uniting their efforts for the common good. This tendency has been aided by circumstances, and also, one may add, by the industry and economy of past generations. Thus, the enormous sugar industry of Germany is directly due to the system of combination by which proprietors, little and big alike, join together to secure the common end.

Without this combination of capital, it would be practically impossible to cultivate the beet root on anything like a profitable scale; for the root requires an extremely fertile soil, and consequently the same field cannot be made to yield beet root for more than four years running. Each refinery, therefore, though using up only 2,900 hectares of beet root, requires altogether an available area of 8,000 hectares. So, too, with the coöperative dairies, which are very flourishing in Germany. Of course it is not all plain sailing, and M. de Rousiers points not obscurely to the difficulties caused by the inclusion of small landed proprietors in the associations; these people are somewhat narrow-minded, and can with difficulty be brought to see the advantages of combination with the sugar refineries.

MATHEMATICS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION.

M. Tannery contributes an important paper on mathematics in secondary education, in which he complains that in France the sciences do not penetrate the system of secondary education, but are added to it like excrescences. The method of teaching them corresponds to no practical need and serves as no preparation for a career, but rather for examinations which must be passed in order to enter certain professions. M. Tannery declares that there are certain portions of mathematical science that take the place in the French democracy of those old heraldic quarterings of nobility the possession of which in former days was really the sole qualification for state service. He does not suggest any palliatives—which, he considers, is the business of specialists; but he asserts that the evil is due to a false conception, not only of secondary education itself, but of the part which the sciences ought to play in it. Secondary education ought to form young people for the work which is to occupy their life, and that work in the majority of cases will consist in directing, more or less immediately, the physical labor of other men. This power of direction can only be derived from science; whereas, M. Tannery complains, the whole tendency of teaching is towards the enjoyment and production of literary work. It must not be supposed that he ignores the value of mathematics as an intellectual discipline; he simply complains that the French *lycées* are constituted on the model of old ecclesiastical establishments dating from the time when there was no science except mathematics; but nowadays, when the development of the practical application of scientific truths cannot fail to bring a rapid change in the distribution of wealth, and is even certain to become itself the principal source of wealth, it is obvious that the wise teaching of science becomes a social question of the first importance. M. Tannery evidently thinks that the future progress of France, both in the moral and in the economic spheres, is bound up in no small degree in this question of the reform of teaching methods.

VENICE IN DANGER.

M. de Souza sounds a cry of alarm to which, it must be feared, the world has by this time become tolerably accustomed. Persons of taste have mourned over the disfigurement of Rome and Florence; but they have always consoled themselves, says M. de Souza, with the recollection of Venice practically unspoiled. The complaint appears to be that wealthy English, American, German, Italian, and French people have bought one by one all the palaces on the Grand Canal, and have proceeded to restore them. A vast new palace, built in

imitation of old architecture, destroys the effect of one of the most impressive views of the Grand Canal. Furthermore, the destruction of the Pescheria, a horribly ugly building close to the Grand Canal, is urgently demanded. The practice of coloring the houses which are built of stone or marble in white is to be regretted, M. de Souza thinks, and color—preferably red—should be made compulsory. In general, it is the reviving commercial prosperity of Venice that brings in its train the vandalism of engineers, stimulated by the self-esteem of officialism.

REVUE DES REVUES.

THE August numbers of the *Revue des Revues* contain a second article by Senator Paul Strauss upon "Puericulture"—a paper which might have been inspired by Zola's "Fécondité." He advocates the legal protection of maternity, not only by forbidding women to work in factories for four or even six weeks after the birth of a child, but also by giving them an indemnity for wages lost. Excessive infant mortality is the chief cause of depopulation. In France, one-sixth of the total number of deaths are those of infants. In Paris, infant mortality is relatively low, but in some French industrial towns over 50 per cent. of the deaths are of children under one year. Sterilized milk will be a great factor in the saving of infant life, yet the prime cause of the frightful mortality of young children will never be removed except by educating girls for their duties as mothers—an education which must begin as the school time ends. One institution, at least, has already been founded with this object, with the happiest results in the saving of infant life.

FIRST STEPS TOWARDS SOLIDARITY.

Anna Lampérière, secretary-general of the Education Congress, has a most interesting paper upon "Social Education" in France, in which she thinks France has made far greater strides than any Anglo-Saxon nation. "France is the brain of humanity;" French thought the light which guides the steps of the rest of the world. In many French schools much has been done to instill into the children's minds the idea of solidarity, coöperation, being able to do easily combined what would be impossible by individual effort. A typical exercise for teaching children the elements of social economy may be quoted:

"On Thursday the master, being pleased with his class, had promised that every one should go for a walk as a reward. In the morning the father of Louis, one of our mates, said that Louis would have to fetch in the wood instead of going for a walk. Then every one went to Louis' home to help him; the wood was brought in directly, and Louis went out walking with us. Every one was very glad, and he was very glad, and the master said that that was solidarity."

Some schools try more practical methods. In one the children club together to buy a bottle of expensive wine for a sick schoolmate unable to get it for himself. In others they club together to replace a boy's cap which has landed in the garden of a bad-tempered neighbor, or a spoiled dictionary. In Orleans a case is cited of a "Mutual Insurance Society Against Window-Breaking," a club upon which a boy can draw when in play he has managed to break some one's window. In secondary schools less is being done than in primary; but coöperation is one of the leading notes of the "Universités Populaires."

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT.

M. Frederic Passy gives some reminiscences of his peace propaganda, dating over thirty years back. Old as he is, M. Passy writes with hope and enthusiasm. Speaking of the French Society for International Arbitration, which for ten years past has been striving to apply the principles of arbitration before war, M. Passy says that its efforts, though at first received with some indifference, have been the object of more and more attention on the part of the governments. "Not only have the ambassadors, through whom we had to send our letters, for the most part acknowledged their receipts in terms which were not mere flattery—several having even taken the trouble to leave their cards upon me—but a certain number, after acknowledging the letters, have renewed their thanks *by order of their government.*" Speaking of the Hague Conference, M. Passy says it is "a happy crowning of the work of the Interparliamentary Conferences and the Peace Congresses."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Miss Constance Barnicoat, in an article on "The Alleged Disappearance of the Maori," replies to an anonymous French writer's assertion that the English had extirpated this race from the face of the earth, which is happily yet far from being the case.

M. Renard eagerly hails the first signs of spelling reform in France, the minister of education having last July published a decree which will greatly reduce the size of French grammars and immensely simplify the task of learning either to spell or write that language correctly.

Mme. Vera Starkoff writes on "Russian Writers Who Reach the People," among whom she mentions Novikoff and Tourgueniev.

Mlle. Lecamp writes sensibly upon "Moral Teaching in School and in the Family." She asserts that the teacher, as well as the parent, is morally responsible for children's moral instruction. "If only one rule was required for our true education, I should say: Never put any but beautiful things before the eyes of a child. It is by the worship of the beautiful in all its forms that the child gets a great and generous soul, a free mind, open to all large thoughts."



THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

A History of Political Parties in the United States. By James H. Hopkins. 12mo, pp. 477. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

Mr. Hopkins has prepared a convenient work of reference covering the whole political history of the United States. In appendices to the book are contained the more important national platforms from 1840 to the present time, together with tables giving the popular vote in the various States in the last four presidential elections. In a brief concluding chapter Mr. Hopkins sums up the record of American parties in a suggestive manner. This record shows that since the days of Jackson the rule has been that the party which secured the Presidency at the same election chose Congressmen of the same political faith, but that two years later the people have chosen a majority in the House of Representatives hostile to the administration. In every second term of Congress, therefore, in almost every instance, the political control of legislation has been transferred from one party to the other. Exceptions, however, occurred during the period of the Civil War, in Cleveland's first term, and during the second half of McKinley's term.

The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia. Edited by John P. Foley. 8vo, pp. 1009. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. \$7.50.

It is claimed for this work that it contains everything of importance that Jefferson ever wrote on government, law, politics, education, commerce, agriculture, manufactures, navigation, finance, morals, or religious freedom—in short, that it is a complete manual of Jefferson's doctrine. Nearly ten thousand extracts from Jefferson's letters, state papers, and published works are arranged alphabetically by topics, with a full cross-reference index. This scheme greatly facilitates the use of the voluminous material. If we mistake not, the publishers have had an eye on the needs of the campaign "spellbinders" in this Presidential year. The book is thoroughly workmanlike, and a model of its class.

The Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson. By S. E. Forman. 8vo, pp. 476. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company. \$3.

To write a biographical sketch of Jefferson that should "avoid controversy, abuse, and eulogy" has been Dr. Forman's very sensible and praiseworthy aim. He has achieved it by rigidly confining himself to the undisputed facts of his hero's career. Of this volume, entitled "The Life and Writings" of Jefferson, the "Life" occupies less than one-third. The more important portion of the book consists of extracts from Jefferson's voluminous private correspondence, his state papers, his "Notes on Virginia," etc. All of this material has long been in print, of course, but not in a form generally accessible.

The Trusts: What Can We Do with Them? What Can They Do for Us? By William Miller Collier. 12mo, pp. 338. New York: The Baker & Taylor Company. \$1.25.

Mr. Collier's point of view in dealing with the trust problem is that of the student who recognizes the necessity of combinations of capital, and at the same time sees their dangers to the industrial, social, and political system. He believes that much of the legislation heretofore attempted has been futile, and even positively injurious. His method, therefore, is to discriminate between the evils that must be prohibited and prevented and the tendencies that must be

limited and restricted. As specific remedies for the evils resulting from trusts, Mr. Collier would abolish all special privileges; prohibit and absolutely prevent railroad discrimination; lower the tariff,—not whenever we can obtain our goods from abroad at a lower rate, but whenever the prices exacted by any trust, or any corporation, or any individual are in excess of a fair profit after paying American wages. He would compel corporations to bear their fair proportion of taxation, and let the public retain and, in so far as is lawful, retake all public utilities and franchises. He favors the New York franchise-tax law. In addition to the abolishing of special privileges, Mr. Collier has great faith in publicity as a coordinate remedy.

"Restraint of Trade:" Pros and Cons of Trusts in Facts and Principles. By William Hudson Harper. 12mo, pp. 368. Chicago, 750 Marquette Building: Printed for the Editor. Paper, 50 cents.

This pamphlet represents an attempt to collate the most diverse opinions recently expressed by American thinkers on the trust problem. No great effort has been made to secure an orderly arrangement of material, and, as the editor himself intimates in his preface, the book may be opened at random and read without regard to sequence. There is an advantage, of course, in having the crystallized views of economists and publicists on this question thus compiled in a single volume. All schools of thought seem to have been fairly treated by the editor, whose sole aim has been to give each authority equal and just representation.

The Wall Street Point of View. By Henry Clews. 12mo, pp. 290. New York: Silver, Burdett & Co. \$1.50.

In this volume Mr. Clews considers the political and social problems of the day, and even international affairs, from "the Wall-Street point of view." Many of his chapters, such as "Washington Domination in Finance, Speculation, and Business," "Tariff for Prosperity Only," "Currency Legislation," and "President McKinley's Policy and the Nation's Future," have a direct bearing on the current Presidential campaign. The concluding chapter, entitled "Our Nation's New Departure," is a defense of the present administration of our foreign affairs. Chapters on the Cleveland and Harrison administrations, the Wilson tariff law, the Baring failure, and the Venezuelan message panic are not without historical value and significance. Mr. Clews' style, as often illustrated in his writings for the press, is colloquial, frequently anecdotal, and always entertaining.

One Hundred Years of Platforms, Principles, and Policies of the American Democracy. By S. S. Bloom. 12mo, pp. 221. Shelby, Ohio: The Shelby Publishing Company. Paper, 50 cents.

This pamphlet is a campaign handbook designed for the guidance of Democratic voters, and intended to familiarize the younger generation with the principles of the Jeffersonian fathers. The book was published before the assembling of the Kansas City convention.

The Referendum in America. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. 12mo, pp. 430. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

Dr. Oberholtzer has been engaged for several years in a study of the referendum in Switzerland and in this country. He has given special attention to the system of lawmaking by popular vote in the United States, under which constitu-

tional amendments and even entire constitutions are submitted for ratification at the polls. He makes it clear that Americans really had the referendum long before the name was familiar to them. His discussion of the various phases of the subject in the light of the most recent developments, both at home and abroad, is exceedingly timely and instructive.

Representative Democracy. By John R. Commons. 12mo, pp. 100. New York: Bureau of Economic Research. Paper, 25 cents.

This little pamphlet brings together the main arguments for direct legislation and proportional representation. The chief aim of the work, perhaps, is to show the importance to minority parties in different sections of the country of proportional representation as a means to united action without fusion. The author seeks to apply this principle to Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans in the West, to Populists and Republicans in the South, and to Republicans, Socialists, etc., in New York City. In considering direct legislation, the author argues that it is the only cure for corruption in politics. The account of the new proportional-representation law in Belgium was contributed by Professor Commons to the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for May, 1900.

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY.

America's Economic Supremacy. By Brooks Adams. 12mo, pp. 222. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

The titles of the essays brought together in this volume are as follows: "The Spanish War and the Equilibrium of the World;" "The New Struggle for Life Among Nations;" "England's Decline in the West Indies;" "Natural Selection in Literature;" "The Decay of England," and "Russia's Interest in China." These essays deal with the last three years, in which the United States, at least, has made history very rapidly. These discussions of the most modern phases of our economic life are well thought out, and, though prepared without reference to one another, form a natural sequence.

Industrial Betterment. By William Howe Tolman. (Monographs on American Social Economics.) 8vo, pp. 82. New York: League for Social Service. Paper, 75 cents.

Dr. Tolman's monograph, which has received the honor of a French translation, deals particularly with the improvement in the conditions under which American working-men and working-women perform their daily tasks. Dr. Tolman has investigated not only the factories themselves, but the homes and environments of the workers. He has also studied the effect of such industrial and social betterment on the community as a whole.

Religious Movements for Social Betterment. By Dr. Josiah Strong. (Monographs on American Social Economics.) 8vo, pp. 50. New York: League for Social Service. Paper, 50 cents.

Dr. Strong's pamphlet on "Religious Movements for Social Betterment" covers particularly such developments as what is known as the "institutional church" idea and other modern attempts to direct religious activities along social lines. The work of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Salvation Army is also described.

The Past and Present Condition of Public Hygiene and State Medicine in the United States. By Samuel W. Abbott. (Monographs on American Social Economics.) 8vo, pp. 103.

In summing up the progress of matters pertaining to public health in the United States, Dr. Abbott mentions especially the rapidity with which the introduction of public water-supplies has been effected, especially in States west of the Mississippi Valley, and the stimulus given to meth-

ods for the prevention of the spread of infectious diseases through the agents of bacteriology. As pressing needs of the hour, Dr. Abbott suggests a central bureau or department for the collection of vital statistics from the different States and Territories, and a central sanitary organization at Washington to coöperate with and to aid municipal and State sanitary authorities.

The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children. By Homer Folks. (Monographs on American Social Economics.) 8vo, pp. 142. New York: The Charities Review.

In a series of monographs on American social economics, prepared for the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition, there is an exhaustive study of "The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children," by Homer Folks, secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association. Mr. Folks first describes the situation in this country in 1801 with reference to these dependent classes. He then reviews the development of the public care of destitute children up to the year 1875. Private charities for destitute children during the same period are treated in a similar manner. Then the movement for the removal of children from the almshouses is described. This is followed by a full account of public systems other than almshouse care, for the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There is also a chapter on private charities for the same period, together with specific chapters on neglected and delinquent children, present tendencies, and an ample bibliography of the whole subject, giving the more important sources of information. This paper also forms one of an historical series on American philanthropy in the *Charities Review*.

Crime and Criminals. By J. Sanderson Christison. 12mo, pp. 177. Chicago: 100 State St. Published by the Author. \$1.25.

Dr. Christison's studies of crime and criminals have attracted much attention, and, in view of the rapid increase in American crime, they are deserving of most serious consideration. In this little volume, Dr. Christison presents a series of criminal topics, with brief descriptions of the individual characters and their history. Each description is given as the product of an examination of two or more hours' length made in private and supplemented by other inquiries. They thus have a rigid scientific basis.

The History of the Prudential Insurance Company of America (Industrial Insurance). By Frederick L. Hoffman. 12mo, pp. 338. Newark, N. J.: The Prudential Press.

In connection with the exhibit at the Paris Exposition of charts, diagrams, and statistics illustrating the methods and results of what is known as "industrial insurance" in the United States, this monograph has been prepared by the statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, the concern most closely identified with this form of insurance. Although the company has had an existence of only a quarter of a century, it has fully demonstrated the possibility of extending the benefits of life insurance to the masses. This volume forms as complete a record of the history of the insuring of working-men and their families in this country as it would be possible to compile from any source.

CHINA AND THE FAR EAST.

China's Open Door: A Sketch of Chinese Life and History. By Rounseville Wildman. 12mo, pp. xvi+318. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company. \$1.50.

Consul-General Wildman has brought within brief compass an historical sketch of the Chinese empire and its people from the earliest times to the outbreak of the Boxer insurrection. Mr. Wildman's book lacks the element of dryness so often present in histories compiled from printed works. Perhaps one reason for this is the fact that the author has based his work on personal observation and asso-

ciation with the people he describes, rather than on literature. Writing from the modern American point of view, Mr. Wildman could hardly fail to treat quite fully of the commercial and economic problems of the far East. His residence at Hongkong as the official representative of the United States has afforded him many opportunities for accurate judgment on these subjects. His book will, therefore, prove interesting to American business men seeking enlarged markets in China, as well as to students of contemporary world politics.

Missions and Politics in China: A Record of Cause and Effect. By Robert E. Speer. 16mo, pp. 61. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Paper, 10 cents.

One of the best brief discussions of the missionary situation in China is the chapter prepared by Mr. Robert E. Speer for his work on "Missions and Politics in Asia," and now republished in separate form for public circulation. Mr. Speer has obtained a clear insight into the political and economic forces at work in China, as well as the mission movement. His monograph is a defense of Chinese missions, evolved from a full knowledge of the difficulties and peculiar conditions under which these missions have been at work.

Arabia: The Cradle of Islam. By Rev. S. M. Zwemer. 8vo, pp. 434. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$2.

In the case of Arabia, as in many other instances, we are indebted to a missionary for one of the first complete accounts of the country in English. Mr. Zwemer has written this book especially to call attention to the need of missionary work for the Arabs. He collected his materials during nine years of residence in Arabia. Dr. James S. Dennis, in an introductory note, commends the spirit in which the author has written of Mohammedanism. The book is frank in its expressions of gratification on the British advance in the peninsula.

Russia Against India: The Struggle for Asia. By Archibald R. Colquhoun. 12mo, pp. 246. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

This contribution of Mr. Colquhoun to the discussion of the Eastern question is primarily designed for English readers; but since, in the author's view, British interests in India are closely bound up with the interests of the whole Anglo-Saxon race, the topics that he treats will be not without interest to American readers. At any rate, the book will be helpful in clearing away the mistiness of the whole Eastern situation. The author has endeavored to sketch affairs in Central Asia from actuality rather than from official accounts. Oddly enough, the writer first named in the list of those to whom Mr. Colquhoun acknowledges indebtedness is an American—Mr. Eugene Schuyler, whose writings on Russia many years ago first drew the attention of the English-speaking world to the Czar's great modern dominion.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics. By William L. Scruggs. 12mo, pp. 350. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

This work derives its chief value from the author's intimate personal acquaintance with the countries and peoples described. This acquaintance, maintained during a period of twenty-seven years, while it had its basis in the official positions held by Mr. Scruggs, has resulted in a knowledge of the republics to which he was accredited as the representative of the United States far more extensive and profound than that usually acquired by diplomats in a purely official capacity. He has made a special study of the natural resources and climatic conditions of Colombia and Venezuela. The descriptive chapters of the book will be found particularly useful; but the author has wisely deemed an understanding of the political and social conditions es-

sential, and has therefore treated with considerable fullness such topics as "Panama Canal Projects," "The Race Problem in America," "Democracy in South America," "Spanish-American Revolutions," "The Monroe Doctrine," and "The Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Dispute."

South America: Social, Industrial, and Political. By Frank G. Carpenter. 8vo, pp. 625. Akron, Ohio: The Saalfeld Publishing Company. \$3.

After more than a year of constant travel through South American countries, Mr. Carpenter has compiled in this volume the results of his elaborate studies of the commercial and social life, both rural and urban, in the countries visited. He describes the chief industries of the people and the economic resources and possibilities, and incidentally points out the chances for the investment of American capital and the increase of American trade. The book is also a record of personal adventures, but its main interest lies in the wealth of practical information gathered by the author in the lines of his special investigations. There are numerous half-tone illustrations.

The Rockies of Canada. By Walter Dwight Wilcox. 8vo, pp. 309. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

So far as "book knowledge" is concerned, Americans are wofully ignorant of Canadian mountain scenery. Mr. Walter Dwight Wilcox, F.R.G.S., has visited all the points of scenic interest in the Rocky Mountains of Canada, taking many photographs and climbing many dizzy heights. The photogravure and half-tone plates made from the author's photographs to illustrate the present volume form a revelation of Canadian mountain scenery. A separate chapter on mountaineering describes the efforts in climbing made by American travelers with Swiss guides, and by several noted climbers from abroad. There are also special chapters on camp life and hunting and fishing which will interest American sportsmen. As a whole, the work is an important contribution to our knowledge of the scenic wonders of our own continent.

In South Africa with Buller. By George Clark Musgrave. 8vo, pp. 364. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.

Captain Musgrave, whose account of the Cuban War ("Under Three Flags in Cuba") has won much praise, undertakes in the present volume to review the causes of the war in South Africa. In the case of Cuba, Captain Musgrave's sympathies were wholly with the struggling patriots as against Spain; in South Africa, on the other hand, he regards the Boers as the real aggressors, and the triumph of the British arms as the only hope of true republicanism in the Transvaal. He hopes through this book to influence American public opinion in favor of Great Britain's side. Sympathetic readers of the Cuban book may find some difficulty, on taking up the South-African story, in following or adopting the author's shifted point of view; but as a record of the early military operations of the war in Natal the volume is important.

As Seen by Me. By Lilian Bell. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

The unique title adopted for this little book is a clew to the individuality of its contents, covering two years of travel, over some thirty thousand miles. The book does not pretend to present people and things as they are seen by the average traveler; nor even, as the author frankly says, "as they really are." The sketches, however, are so readable that most people will be willing to take them as they have been written, without going to the trouble of allowing for the author's personal equation.

A Journey with the Sun Around the World. By Rev. William McMahon. 12mo, pp. 676. Cleveland: The Catholic Universe Publishing Company. \$1.75.

A well-known Roman Catholic priest of Cleveland, Ohio, the Rev. Father McMahon, has written a readable

and entertaining account of a recent journey around the world. The book is fully illustrated from photographs.

BIOGRAPHY.

Stephen Decatur. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. (The Beacon Biographies of Eminent Americans.) 24mo, pp. 142. Boston : Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

The story of Commodore Decatur's comparatively brief but glorious career in the American navy is told by Mr. Cyrus Townsend Brady in the series of "Beacon Biographies" in a characteristically frank and impressive way. Mr. Brady regards Decatur as the most conspicuous figure in the naval history of the United States for the hundred years between Paul Jones and Farragut, not even excepting the brilliant Oliver Hazard Perry, who won undying fame in the battle of Lake Erie. The brilliant achievements of our modern navy in 1898 have undoubtedly revived interest in the naval exploits of the fathers. Perhaps Mr. Brady will be regarded by some critics as slightly extravagant in his estimate of Decatur's achievements, but it cannot be denied that in this little book he has faithfully carried out his purpose of showing the man as he appeared to his contemporaries, and, at the same time, exhibiting in some measure the national habit, life, thought, and action during the time in which he lived.

Stonewall Jackson. By Carl Hovey. (The Beacon Biographies.) 24mo, pp. 131. Boston : Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

About two years ago, we noticed in these pages an elaborate biography of Gen. Stonewall Jackson, by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, of the British Army. That work contains a detailed account of the famous Confederate general's military career. Mr. Carl Hovey has written for the "Beacon" series an admirable short sketch of Jackson, portraying with unusual success the hero of the Shenandoah as he appeared in action. The greater part of the book is, of course, given up to the Civil War, in the first two years of which Jackson accomplished what to him and to thousands of followers in the South seemed to be his life-work. Mr. Hovey has attempted no criticism of his hero, but has been content to let the plain record of Jackson's career speak for itself. Perhaps the North has never yet understood the secret of this man's leadership; but, from a study of his achievements in battle, we can well understand why the death of Stonewall Jackson brought the first touch of real despair to those who up to that time had believed in the triumph of the Southern cause.

"An American Commoner." The Life and Times of Richard Parks Bland. Edited by William Vincent Byars. With an Introduction by William Jennings Bryan. 8vo, pp. 404. Columbia, Mo. : E. W. Stephens. \$3.50.

The life of the Hon. Richard Parks Bland, who will be remembered as one of the leading candidates of the Silver wing of the Democratic party prior to the nominating convention of 1896, has been compiled by Mr. William Vincent Byars. The book is provided with an introduction by William Jennings Bryan, and contains personal reminiscences by Mrs. Bland. The political problems and policies of the past twenty-five years are nearly all touched upon in this sketch of Mr. Bland's career. Mr. Bland's record in Congress on the silver question, long antedating that of most of the present-day leaders of his party, makes this volume a timely one in the present campaign.

Sam Houston. By Sarah Barnwell Elliott. (The Beacon Biographies.) 24mo, pp. 149. Boston : Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

The story of General Houston's life, touching as it does on the questions of territorial expansion, of silver, and of the secession of the Southern States, is a part of our national history. The picturesque features of Houston's

career have for two generations been common property throughout Tennessee, where the first part of his public life was passed, and Texas, the State that he founded. From the abundance of materials scattered through the histories and public records of Tennessee, Texas, and the far Southwest, Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott has constructed a graphic account of Houston's achievements. Houston was a soldier in three wars—the War of 1812, the Texan war of independence, and the Mexican War, and lived through the second year of the Civil War. He left the governorship of Texas in 1861 because of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate government. He had been a member of the national House of Representatives and of the United States Senate, and the highest honors that two States could confer upon him had been his. To the credit of General Houston, it is remembered that he left the public service in 1861 as poor as when he entered it as a young soldier in 1813.

Recollections of a Lifetime. By General Roeliff Brinkerhoff. 12mo, pp. 448. Cincinnati : The Robert Clarke Company. \$2.

General Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, who in recent years has been known throughout the country for his connection with organized charities, has had a long and interesting public career, the most active years of which covered the more important events of the antislavery period, beginning with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 and closing with the Civil War and reconstruction. During that period General Brinkerhoff had an intimate acquaintance with many leading men, and had himself no small part in the shaping of events. General Brinkerhoff has served successfully as educator, lawyer, editor, soldier, statesman, and philanthropist. Among his friends were Salmon P. Chase, James G. Blaine, President Garfield, and President Hayes. It is said that General Brinkerhoff has visited and inspected probably more benevolent and correctional institutions than any other man in the world; for he has traveled for that purpose in every State in the Union except one, and also in the Dominion of Canada, the Republic of Mexico, and all the countries of Western Europe. His observations on these travels form in this volume a history of modern progress in dealing with the dependent, defective, and criminal classes.

Napoleon III. at the Height of His Power. By Imbert de Saint-Amand. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. 12mo, pp. 305. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

M. de Saint-Amand's numerous writings on modern French history, which have been translated and have obtained wide circulation in this country, are now generally accepted as authoritative for the period that they cover. The latest accession to the list is a volume treating of Napoleon III. at the height of his power. This book, like its predecessors, deals with persons and events in the bright, crisp, and distinctively French method which makes the whole series so much more attractive than any English works covering the same ground. In 1860 the Emperor could say that in a single year the French flag had floated at Rome, at Beyrout, and at Peking. He foresaw nothing of the ruin that was to come ten years thence. "As everything had succeeded with him from the beginning of his reign, he believed that his eagles soared above the lightning."

New York State's Prominent and Progressive Men. Compiled by Mitchell C. Harrison. Two vols. 4to, pp. 421-390. New York : The New York Tribune.

The New York Tribune has compiled, for the use of newspaper editors and others requiring the data, two volumes, entitled "New York State's Prominent and Progressive Men," including numerous biographical sketches prepared under the supervision of Mr. Mitchell C. Harrison. Many of the subjects of these sketches are men of national reputation. The paper and typography of the volumes are of the best quality. We understand that the work is sold only by subscription.

RECENT FICTION.

The Golden Book of Venice: An Historical Romance of the 16th Century. By Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull. 12mo, pp. 399. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

Mrs. Turnbull's "Golden Book of Venice" will appear this month, an advance copy having reached us just before the October REVIEW OF REVIEWS went to press. It is an historical novel of the classic type,—with the scene laid in Venice in the latter half of the sixteenth century,—and the story is interwound with the fierce struggle between Rome and Venice, Church and State, which brought the famous Servite Friar, Paolo Sarpi, to the zenith of his fame. Mrs. Turnbull's picture of the times and of the ever-beautiful Venice is one which could only have been painted by one who has consciously withdrawn into the atmosphere of 1565 and of Venice and become saturated with it. Mrs. Turnbull has in fact made a rarely conscientious and thorough study of the place, the peoples, and the times which form the background of her imaginative work. The story itself is pure fiction, with the exception only of the historic events which it accompanies, and of the character and utterances of Fra Paolo. The romance is the love of Marcantonio, scion of the aristocratic house of Giustiniani, for the lovely but low-born Marina, whose name becomes inscribed on the "Golden Book" of Venetian nobility by a special decree of the Senate—a triumph won by the lover's inspired eloquence. The parlous times which follow the marriage of the lovers, when their happiness is torn between the loyalty of the Giustiniani for the Venetian state and the pious devotion of the Lady Marina to her church, lead up to the catastrophe when the lovely young wife and mother leaves her husband and child to plead the Venetian cause at Rome, only to be intercepted and confined by the state which she would fain save from excommunication. As a full and vivid historical picture, and as a story of noble characters, with noble motives, noble joys, and noble griefs, Mrs. Turnbull's volume is most worthy to be read.

The Reign of Law. By James Lane Allen. 12mo, pp. 385. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Allen's preceding story, "The Choir Invisible," has given the reading public its realization of this author's extraordinary truth and poetic delicacy in his interpretation of nature, and this reputation, in which Mr. Allen is not surpassed by any story-teller in America, probably, does not suffer in this latest tale of the Kentucky hemp-fields. The opening chapter, "Hemp," is a very beautiful idyllic study; and all through the story of the Kentucky farmer boy, who is the hero of the novel, Mr. Allen uses with a touch here and there his preëminent talent for bringing us home to the pleasant things, animate and inanimate, of the fields, the sky, and the waters. The story is concerned with the spiritual experiences of a Kentucky boy who is transferred from the devout and rather narrow religious atmosphere of his country home to a college where he is brought face to face with the fact, shocking to him, that there are other religions claiming, with some show of reason, a recognition equal to his own, and that there have been great minds in the world who refused obedience to any religion on grounds which quite stagger the young Kentuckian. The picture is a not unnatural one, but portrays a situation found in many a life surrounded with analogous conditions.

A Cumberland Vendetta. By John Fox, Jr. 12mo, pp. 181. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

Mr. John Fox, Jr., the young Kentucky writer, has already become known in the field of fiction, and well known, through his novels "A Mountain Europa" and "The Kentuckians," as well as his short stories which have been published in book form. It is very natural that with such a young writer, graduated from newspaper work, the highly dramatic qualities of the Kentucky feud system should have appealed strongly as the background of a work of fiction. "A Cumberland Vendetta" is the imaginative story of a

Kentucky family feud, written after a careful preparation by Mr. Fox in his explorations and study of the lawless mountain regions of the Southwest. Certainly there is feud and fighting sufficient to satisfy the most exacting in this volume, and the tragic picture it gives of the state of society in these mountain regions has a social value aside from the very dramatic and readable story.

The Girl at the Halfway House: A Story of the Plains. By E. Hough. 12mo, pp. 371. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Hough is, and has been for many years, the Western correspondent of *Forest and Stream*. The people who read *Forest and Stream* have learned to turn to Mr. Hough's weekly letters, whether they care anything about the intrinsic news given there or not, because the news of Western shooting and fishing interests was always presented by that correspondent with such unflinching humor and vivacity. Two years ago, Mr. Hough gained a larger audience through his "Story of the Cowboy," in which he combined in the most fascinating way a special knowledge of the country of the cowboy and the life he led with a large grasp of the phase of our national life which the cowboy represented. In this novel, Mr. Hough's first venture, we believe, in the field of fiction, he attempts to give a picture of the great movement of this nation from east to west. His story is divided into "The Day of War," "The Day of the Buffalo," "The Day of the Cattle," and "The Day of the Plow"—four books expressing the respective stages of Western development. This epic conception of the period through which his love-story runs is not too large for Mr. Hough's pen. He has made a book which, quite aside from the pretty romance, is very well worth while as a poetical and historical account of the growth of these United States to manhood. The magnificence of this development, the inner significance of each phase of it, Mr. Hough feels deeply, and he has the faculty of making his readers feel with him.

The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg. By Mark Twain. 12mo, pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.75.

Mr. Clemens' latest volume is made up of short stories, essays, and reminiscent sketches which have appeared in various magazines. These are so diverse in subject, form, and method that there is nothing common to all of them except the distinctive genius of Mark Twain. In these stories can be noted the tendency which Mr. Clemens began to show many years ago—to add a serious purpose to his fun by attacking cant and snobbishness in abstract or concrete forms. The opening story, which gives its name to the volume, has a most curious and ingenious conception of the successful moral overwhelming of a town which had won the proud adjective of incorruptible, the fall being so complete and disastrous that Mr. Clemens has no difficulty in pointing his tacit moral that there is no more dangerous preparation for a community, or for an individual, than the complete protection from temptation. In another story Mr. Clemens gives the private history of "The Jumping Frog" story; there are four or five chapters on Australia, and an especially shrewd and entertaining essay "Concerning the Jews," in which the author attempts to explain once and for all the prejudice against the Hebrew race, and a half-dozen more sketches.

The Booming of Acre Hill, and Other Reminiscences of Urban and Suburban Life. By John Kendrick Bangs. 16mo, pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

Mr. Bangs is now the editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and he has been more or less of a politician in his chosen town of Yonkers, N. Y., not to speak of several other occupations which he has found; but he is, first of all, a writer of humorous short stories. The present volume contains a dozen of his last stories and comical sketches which have appeared before in various periodicals. It is illustrated with charming drawings by Charles Dana Gibson.

Monsieur Beaucaire. By Booth Tarkington. 12mo, pp. 128. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.25.

Mr. Booth Tarkington is a young writer who became well known last year through the success of his novel, "The Gentleman from Indiana." This slighter story at present under notice is a light tale of intrigue at the English court, and quite sustains the reputation for cleverness won by this new writer in his first and more pretentious story.

The Passing of Thomas, and Other Stories. By Thomas A. Janvier. 12mo, pp. 181. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

Mr. Janvier has collected in this volume five stories which have appeared in various periodicals. Three of them have their scenes laid in France, and reap the advantage of Mr. Janvier's unsurpassed talent for expressing the subtleties and whimsicalities of the French character. The book is illustrated by Mr. C. D. Gibson, whose well-known types have a quaint look, tricked out as they are in French dress.

The Bewitched Fiddle, and Other Irish Tales. By Seumas MacManus. 16mo, pp. 240. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 75 cents.

Mr. MacManus' short stories of Irish peasant life have been gathered from magazines into this readable little volume, which is redolent from cover to cover of the quaint Celtic humor which this author has learned to exploit so well. The opening story, which gives its title to the volume, tells of a converted fiddler whose instrument becomes bewitched into playing only the ribald tunes that were formerly its music, instead of the Gospel hymns that it should have given in church, with the consequence of leading the entire congregation into a most scandalous dance among the tombstones. Mr. MacManus' study of Irish life has been made in his native Donegal, where, he tells us in his apology, the Celtic spirit dallies in frivolity as if there were no such thing as the stern tasks of civilization or the presence of dark days.

Whilomville Stories. By Stephen Crane. 12mo, pp. 190. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

It is generally very difficult to please many people, or at least the majority of people, with any one treatment of boy life in fiction; but certainly these stories of the late Stephen Crane, dealing with the childish adventures of Jimmie Trescott and his friends, will be apt to command respect for their evidence of keen observation, even where they are somewhat frowned on for their disdain of Sunday-schools and like institutions. There is a deal of humor in many of the situations, and the boys are always boys—something which can rarely be said of fiction children. But whatever be the opinion of Mr. Crane's views of boy life, there will be but one of Mr. Peter Newell's illustrations, which are really inimitable.

In Circling Camps: A Romance of the Civil War. By Joseph A. Altsheler. 12mo, pp. 419. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Altsheler, like John Fox, Jr., is a Kentuckian, and like him, too, is a newspaper man. Mr. Altsheler began writing fiction while on the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, because his paper needed a story, and a suitable one could not be found. Since the first effort, several tales with a setting of American history have appeared. This last volume tells of the love of a Kentucky Unionist for the niece of a rascally army contractor, and it is largely occupied, too, in giving a picture of the battles of Gettysburg and Shiloh.

Eben Holden: A Tale of the North Country. By Irving Bacheller. 12mo, pp. 432. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Bacheller has selected the movement of hardy Vermont folks to the West a half-century ago to furnish the motive of his story. The hero, an orphan child, goes on a trek from Vermont to the Adirondacks. The boy comes

from the hardy wood-chopping, charcoal-burning life of an Adirondack farm to New York City and seeks work on the *Tribune*, giving Mr. Bacheller an opportunity to draw a striking portrait of Horace Greeley, and to give a very amusing account of the journalism of that day.

The Cardinal's Snuffbox. By Henry Harland. 12mo, pp. 319. New York: John Lane. \$1.50.

Mr. Harland's new story is very pleasant reading. The scene is laid in Italy, and a duchess, a cardinal, a castle, and a beautiful Italian garden keep us in the best sort of company. Mr. Harland has a rare and dainty style, slipping in a quaint and witty saying every page or so, and with a graceful love-story, beginning naturally and ending properly, one has a good book to while away a leisure hour.

The Secret of the Crater (A Mountain Moloch). By Duffield Osborne. 16mo, pp. 312. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.

Mr. Duffield Osborne has given free rein to his imagination in his last book. He creates an imaginary island in the South Pacific, with a beautiful princess and a young lieutenant of the United States navy as the chief characters of the story. All sorts of mysteries and dangers serve to keep the interest tense from chapter to chapter, and there is savage fighting enough to suit the most adventurous-minded.

Hilda Wade: A Woman with Tenacity of Purpose. By Grant Allen. 12mo, pp. 383. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

This story was the last work of the late Mr. Grant Allen. Indeed, the final chapter had only been roughly sketched by Mr. Allen, and was put in shape for publication by his friend, Dr. Conan Doyle. The scene is in London, with the central figure Hilda Wade, "a woman with a tenacity of purpose," as Mr. Allen describes her. Hilda's father was accused of having poisoned an English admiral in order to inherit his estate, and the daughter enters a hospital in London and devotes her life to discovering the true poisoner.

The Fox-Woman. By John Luther Long. 12mo, pp. 308. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.25.

The "Fox-Woman," like Mr. Long's "Miss Cherry Blossom," has its scene laid in Japan; but the vampire of this legend is an American woman who does her best to steal the affections of a Japanese artist who has a wife already. How the Japanese wife won the day by her gentleness, her lovingness, and the home that these qualities made, makes up the story. Mr. Long certainly has a rare gift of picturing the gentle, dainty, and generally incomprehensible women of Japan.

As the Light Led. By James Newton Baskett. 16mo, pp. 393. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Baskett belongs to the school of American writers who are showing in their works of fiction the strong impress of the community in which they live. Mr. Baskett is a Missourian, and the scene of this story is laid in Northeastern Missouri. The time is in the late sixties, when the political issues of that part of the world were deeply stirred by the disputes of the Immersionists and the Paedo Baptists. The volume gives a very excellent picture of the manners and customs of the Mississippi Valley. Mr. Baskett is an earnest writer who aims to do whatever he does with all his heart, and his purpose to depict in a story the life of his country is aided greatly by his most intimate knowledge of every rural feature and the local raciness of his style.

Féto. By Max Pemberton. 12mo, pp. 299. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Max Pemberton has become a very popular author of stories which do not busy themselves with any very stern or gloomy problems. Féto is the tale of the infatuation of a man of noble rank for a young opera singer, told with wit and discrimination. The scenes are laid in Vienna, London, and Paris.

The Cambric Mask. By Robert W. Chambers. 12mo, pp. 325. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Chambers became known to his readers very pleasantly in his stories of the Maine woods as possessing remarkably keen and loving appreciation for nature, and there is much evidence of this faculty in the love-story told in the present volume, to which presidents of distilling companies, railway promoters, and railroads give so distinctly a Yankee cast.

The Slave. By Robert Hichens. 12mo, pp. 463. New York: H. S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Hichens has utilized a most remarkable motive in this story. He makes the woman who is the central figure absolutely cold to human interests, and portrays in her a grand passion for jewels, not as ornaments or for their pecuniary value, but simply for themselves. Her broken-down husband makes the heroine his slave through this curious passion by dazzling her with the most wonderful emerald in the world. The characters of the novel are the exaggerated figures of London society people.

A Master of Craft. By W. W. Jacobs. 12mo, pp. 339. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.50.

Mr. W. W. Jacobs has become peculiarly the proprietor of the coastwise skipper in fiction. His volumes of short stories, "Many Cargoes" and "More Cargoes," were in their way inimitable. He can get more fun out of one of these simple yet shrewd half-salts of England than one could have supposed would be obtainable. Even in the short stories, Mr. Jacobs scarcely pretended to pay any deference to the laws of probability; and his skippers, and the wives and would-be wives who pester them, were so funny that no one cared whether the thing were probable or not. The present volume is a more pretentious effort, and while the same tang of salt air, and the same pleasant odor of oilers, are present, the defiance of the laws of probability, if not of possibility, has a rather more qualifying effect in a novel than in a short story.

Their Shadows Before: A Story of the Southampton Insurrection. By Pauline Carrington Bouvé. 12mo, pp. 202. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.25.

Mrs. Bouvé gives in her very readable story an excellent picture of aristocratic Virginia life in 1830. The child who tells the story is a bright, daring and lovable girl, living in the ancestral home of the Winstons, surrounded by the usual army of negro slaves. The advent of a Northern tutor for this original spirit and the sudden catastrophe of a negro uprising make the dramatic dénouements of the tale. The negro-character delineation is especially true and vivid; indeed, we have rarely seen such a veridical presentation of the curious relations generally found between white child and black slaves as Mrs. Bouvé gives.

The Master-Christian. By Marie Corelli. 12mo, pp. 604. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

Miss Corelli's latest novel is the longest and most elaborate romance she has yet produced, and she will probably become best known by this effort. She has never been wanting in vigor and daring, and these qualities are exerted to her utmost, in "The Master-Christian," to protest against orthodoxy—not orthodoxy in the abstract, but orthodoxy as we find it in the world before us. All of Miss Corelli's reprehensible characters are distinctly conformists, and all of her noble characters are distinctly heterodox.

The Unknown. By Camille Flammarion. 12mo, pp. 488. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$2.

The eminent French astronomer says in his introduction that this work "is an attempt to analyze scientifically subjects commonly held to have no connection with science, which are even counted uncertain, fabulous, and more or less imaginary." M. Flammarion does not contend that this investigation of ghostly happenings is rational, logical, or

productive of results—at least, he does not propose to prove any such excuses for his volume; but he does know that the subject is interesting, and helps us to know something of the nature of the human soul. He has chapters on "Credulity" and "Incredulity," on "Telepathic Communications," "Hallucinations," "The Psychic Action of One Mind upon Another," and a deal upon the subject of dreams. The author's large collection of psychic phenomena proves to his satisfaction "that we live in the midst of an invincible world, in which forces are at work of which we know very little," and he thinks it high time that there should be some fundamental basis for a scientific study of the unknown principles underlying such matters as he has described in this volume.

Fruitfulness. By Émile Zola. 8vo, pp. 487. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.

M. Zola's last work has been judged by various critics as a very hideous or as a very noble production. It is the first of a series of four works in which M. Zola proposes to embody what he considers to be the four cardinal principles of human life. The second volume will be called "Work," the third "Truth," the last "Justice." In "Fruitfulness," M. Zola argues with all the force of his genius that the crying need of France is larger families. "The greatest possible sum of life, in order that the greatest possible happiness might result; that was the act of faith in life, the act of hope in the justice and goodness of life's work." This gives, in short, the author's philosophic belief which inspired this volume. The story is characterized by Zola's usual frankness in dealing with themes that Anglo-Saxons are not accustomed to dilate upon except in medical works. The translator has cut out portions which would most offend American ears, but even in its present expurgated form the volume cannot be said to be *virginibus puerisque*.

RELIGION AND ETHICS.

The Life that Really Is. By Lyman Abbott. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. \$1.50.

This volume, entitled "The Life that Really Is," contains many of the sermons preached by Dr. Abbott during his last year as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. These sermons, originally delivered extemporaneously, have been preserved essentially in their original form. The well-known qualities of Dr. Abbott's style in pulpit discourse are here displayed at their best, and will be appreciated by every reader.

Introduction to Ethics. By Frank Thilly. 12mo, pp. 346. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

Professor Thilly, a pupil and follower of Friedrich Paulsen, has reviewed in this volume the general principles underlying ethics. This author devotes much space to the history and criticism of the various historical schools of ethics, beginning with Socrates. The concluding chapters deal with "The Highest Good," "Optimism vs. Pessimism," and "Character and Freedom," giving brief summaries of the best modern opinion on these topics.

The Making of Character: Some Educational Aspects of Ethics. By John Mac Cunn. 12mo, pp. 236. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

Professor Mac Cunn treats the subject of character under four main heads: "Congenital Endowment: Its Nature and Treatment;" "Educative Influences;" "Sound Judgment," and "Self-Development and Self-Control." His subject is developed in a logical and systematic manner, and the whole presentation is calculated to interest as well as instruct the reader.

Would Christ Belong to a Labor Union? or, Henry Fielding's Dream. By Cortland Myers, D.D. 12mo, pp. 216. New York: Street & Smith. 50 cents.

Problem in Ethics; or, Grounds for a Code of Rules for Moral Conduct. By John Steinfert Kedney. 12mo, pp. 252. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

Ains.	Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
ACQR.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NAR.	North American Review, N.Y.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
AngA.	Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y.	Gunt.	Gunt's Magazine, N. Y.	Pear.	Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
APB.	Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y.	Hart.	Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	PhoT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
Arch.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
Arena.	Arena, N. Y.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	HumN.	Humanité Nouvelle, Paris.	PopA.	Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn.
AE.	Art Education, N. Y.	Int.	International, Chicago.	PopS.	Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	IntM.	International Monthly, N. Y.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C.
Art.	Artist, London.	IntS.	International Studio, N. Y.	QJ Econ.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	Record.	Record of Christian Work, East Northfield, Mass.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.	RR.	Review of Reviews, London.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	LeisH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RDP.	Revue du Droit Public, Paris.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	Luth.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
CasM.	Cassell's Magazine, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	RPL.	Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cham.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	Mind.	Mind, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Char.	Charities Review, N. Y.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Cleveland, O.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	SR.	Sewanee Review, N. Y.
CAGE.	Coming Age, Boston.	Mod.	Modern Culture, Cleveland, O.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Cons.	Conservative Review, Washington.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	Sun.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	Wern.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	NatR.	National Review, London.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NC.	New Church Review, Boston.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.	YM.	Young Man, London.
		NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.	YW.	Young Woman, London.
		NW.	New World, Boston.		